

# The Outlook

JANUARY 25, 1922

## ORGANIZING THE IRISH FREE STATE

**T**HERE is a good deal of political red tape to be gone through before the Irish Free State becomes an actuality, but the right steps are being taken and apparently the way is clear. The Parliament of Southern Ireland met on January 14 and chose Michael Collins as the head of the Provisional Government. This, under the agreement reached at the London Conference, is to be the link between the old order of things and the new "Free State." The choice of Collins rather than Arthur Griffith was a surprise, but it has been explained that Griffith, as the head of the Dail Eireann, which is the Parliament of the old Sinn Fein so-called Irish Republic, had better not be acting in a double capacity. Dublin Castle, for the first time in history, is in the hands of an Irish Government.

All of this seems a little complicated to those who have not followed the history of recent events in Ireland. The Parliament which has just set up the new Provisional Government was elected long ago under the Home Rule Act, but its members have refused to meet as a Home Rule parliament. Most of them have actually been members of the Dail Eireann. It will be remembered that under the Home Rule Act Ulster and Southern Ireland were each directed to hold an election for members of separate Parliaments. Both sections held the election and Ulster set up its new Parliament, and with it a Cabinet and Prime Minister. Southern Ireland, on the other hand, held the election solely to demonstrate (as it decidedly did) that the Sinn Fein voters were in the majority. It now for the first time comes into existence as the only proper medium for establishing the Provisional Government.

All the indications are favorable that fair play will be given to the new plan. Arthur Griffith states that the Dail Eireann will remain in existence until the treaty has been executed and a general election held in Ireland.

There is no doubt that Mr. De Valera and his followers will do all they can to arouse the old feeling against any kind of connection with England, but it is not generally believed that their contest will renew the war conditions that existed before the London Conference met. Griffith, Collins, and other trusted patriots bear more weight with the



International

ARTHUR GRIFFITH, NEW HEAD OF THE DAIL EIREANN

masses in Ireland than those who insist on extreme views and continued hatred.

## BRIAND FALLS

**O**NCE more Poincaré is Premier of France. Sixty-two years old, a border Lorrainer, a man of notable ability, integrity, and square dealing, a lawyer by profession, he has been a politician and statesman for a generation. He has been Minister of Finance, Foreign Minister, Prime Minister, President.

After his term as President of the Republic Raymond Poincaré became head of the Reparation Commission, charged with collecting the sums due to the Allies from Germany. He resigned when he discovered, as he alleged, that the Commission was unwarrantably influenced by the Supreme Council, composed of the Allied Premiers.

Last spring Germany accepted the Commission's reparation ultimatum, but this winter Germany claims that she cannot meet her payments. In session at the same time with the recent meeting of the Supreme Council at Cannes, the Reparation Commission agreed not to abate this winter's payments, but to spread them in ten-day installments over a longer period.

Instantly the Poincarists demanded the resignation of Aristide Briand, who as Premier had appeared to yield in

some degree to Germany. They insisted that Germany, before her appeals be considered, must first raise her per capita taxes to the level of those in France, practice economies, and stop promoting official distress despite private prosperity. The Poincarists, moreover, declared that Germany was bent on showing her Treasury insolvent, but that she was a willful bankrupt. If she were really a bankrupt, they added, her creditors should expropriate her property and march their troops across the Rhine. This view is not necessarily militaristic or indefensibly aggressive, though even many French citizens regard it as an extreme way of standing up for their nation's just rights.

Furthermore, there was the demand for Briand's head because at the recent meeting of the Supreme Council at Cannes the question of reparations payment was apparently subordinated to that of general European reconstruction. The Poincarists angrily asserted that the resumption of normal trade relations throughout Europe should not be determined before the devastated regions in France were indemnified.

A weighty argument of the Poincarists for Briand's resignation was found in the fact that at Cannes he had seemingly agreed to meet representatives of the Russian Bolshevik Government at Genoa on equal terms.

Finally, M. Briand had accepted an Anglo-French compact by which English support to France was promised in case of another unprovoked German attack. But this proposed protection, declared the Poincarists, was bought at too dear a price—France would practically become a vassal state. France must remain an equal and promise her protection to England, instead of agreeing to concessions which would make it possible for England to "open up" Germany and Russia. This allegation of Briand's subserviency to England was another cause for Briand's resignation.

The Poincarists called the able and long-suffering Briand to come at once from Cannes to Paris. He came. He found abundant evidences of non-support, not only in the legislative but in the executive branch of the Government. Though his explanation to Parliament was apparently satisfactory to a majority of members, the strength of the minority, backed by the doubting members in his Cabinet, and, it is said, by the

President himself, constrained him to resign.

Weary as he was of the task of governing, he was, it is believed, not ill pleased to see the responsibility of power placed on the shoulders of the Poincarists long enough to prove the futility of their extreme policies as opposed to his more moderate course.

### POINCARÉ RISES

**T**HOUGH Poincaré's Cabinet was ready for office in three days, it did not prove to be the wide national union first attempted by the new Premier. But, in any event, it would probably have been what it is, a Ministry like our Wilson Cabinet, one composed mostly of lieutenants, not of its leader's peers. Doubtless that is what Poincaré wants, for he has this trait in common with ex-President Wilson, of wishing to make it evident that he is the source of authority and power. Poincaré has also revealed two other qualities in common with his contemporary, ex-President Wilson; first, a felicity of speech, but also a detachment which sometimes repels those who would be his friends.

True, the Cabinet includes, under the title of Vice-Premier, Louis Barthou, ex-Prime Minister and ex-member of the Briand Cabinet; it includes from that Cabinet Albert Sarraut, Colonial Minister and present head of the French delegation at Washington; it also includes Count Charles de Lastyrie, one of the leading French economists. But the other ten Ministers do not belong to the first rank; indeed, all together would hardly form a counterweight to the weight of the new Premier.

The effect of this overturn upon the future of France is regarded by friends of France from various angles. Some regard it as a move away from sympathetic understanding with America and England. Others regard it as a needed warning to those both in America and in England who in the pursuit of commercial advantage have ignored the rightful claims of France to consideration as a Power and to safety as a nation.

### FROM THE MAILS TO THE MOVIES

**F**ROM the point of view of post-office efficiency it is impossible not to regret Postmaster-General Hays's resignation. His wise and advanced ideas as to the relation of the postal service to the public have already done much to improve the relations of the United States Post Office organization in its dealings with the people at large. His attitude toward the employees of the



WILL HAYS. HIS RESIGNATION OF THE POSTMASTER-GENEALSHIP HAS BEEN ACCEPTED BY PRESIDENT HARDING.

service also has been notably human and sympathetic. We are all sorry to lose Will Hays as an administrator, but we may hope that what he has accomplished may be a model and inspiration to his successor. The President, in tentatively accepting Mr. Hays's resignation, declares that it is "too great an opportunity for a helpful public service for him to refuse."

If the details of Mr. Hays's agreement with the nine large moving-picture producing companies which have asked him to act as an arbitrator and consolidator of their combined interests are satisfactorily concluded, he will find that the distribution of pictures as well as the distribution of mails has opportunities for public service.

The purpose of the film magnates is expressed in one newspaper statement as follows:

Unity of action will be established in developing the possibilities and the appreciation of moving pictures as instruments for education, moral uplift, and Americanization. The desire of the moving-picture men is to raise the standard of the industry, eliminate the evils and objections, and create a self-imposed censorship which will attract the confidence of the people.

Some fear has been expressed lest the new consolidation may prove to be in the nature of a "movie trust." We feel sure that Mr. Hays will recognize the fact that the improvement of the industry in the direction of better taste and better art requires that the exhibitors of pictures should have such freedom of choice as should enable them to respond to the demands of better-class audiences for sound art as well as good morals. It is equally true that individual screen dramatists and producers should have a chance to show originality. Consolidation should not mean factory methods or the exclusion of genius and variety in the "canned product."

### THE AGRICULTURAL CONFERENCE

**A**T the call of the President there assembled in Washington on January 23 a National Agricultural Conference. Delegates to this Conference will include representatives of direct agricultural interests and also representatives of labor, agencies of transportation, and general industry.

Some of the matters which may be discussed at the Conference include crop insurance, methods of adjusting production to the expected demands of consumption, a more accurate system of crop surveys, the problem of price-fixing, and the extension of the co-operative movement.

Whether or not this Conference will result in a direct benefit to American agriculture will depend largely upon the vision and sense of reality of its leaders. The danger to all conferences lies in the fact that human beings all too frequently mistake discussion and resolution for accomplishment. The outstanding feature of the recent Conference on Unemployment was the fact that Secretary Hoover did not lose sight of the need for immediate achievement in his search for a constructive programme for future action. Perhaps the Agricultural Conference can do little more than search for a rational programme for a National farm policy, but its leaders will do well if they keep the example of the former Conference in mind.

### THE WEEKS LAW

**T**HE principle of the budget should be maintained. There is therefore a disposition in Congress not to restore the appropriation for the continuance of the activities of forest acquisition under the Weeks Law which was omitted from the budget as submitted by the Budget Director. It is felt that, especially at this time when every economy should be exercised, the usual appropriation should go over until another year.

At the same time, the matter serves to draw public attention to what has already been accomplished under the Weeks Law. It has proved to be one of the great measures in our country's history. Enacted for the purchase of forest lands at the head-waters of navigable streams, it has not only materially helped to safeguard those streams from disastrous erosion; it has also provided a timber supply in the regions where it was most rapidly vanishing, and, last, not least, has also provided desirable recreation grounds.

As the West is well supplied with National Forests, the first appropriations under the act have been applied exclusively to the mountain regions of the East. The result has been that vital

# WHAT, HOUSEHOLD STUFF?

(Taming of the Shrew, Induction, Scene 2)

From News of the World, London



THE PRODIGAL'S RETURN

John Bull: "The fatted calf won't have a dog's chance, my boy"

Darling in the Buffalo Evening News



THE BRIDE'S FATHER SHOULD TRY NOT TO LOOK TOO RELIEVED

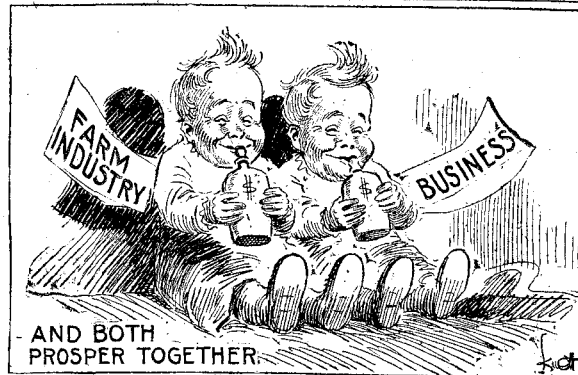
From Julius J. H. Hayn, Buffalo, N. Y.

Perry in the Portland Oregonian



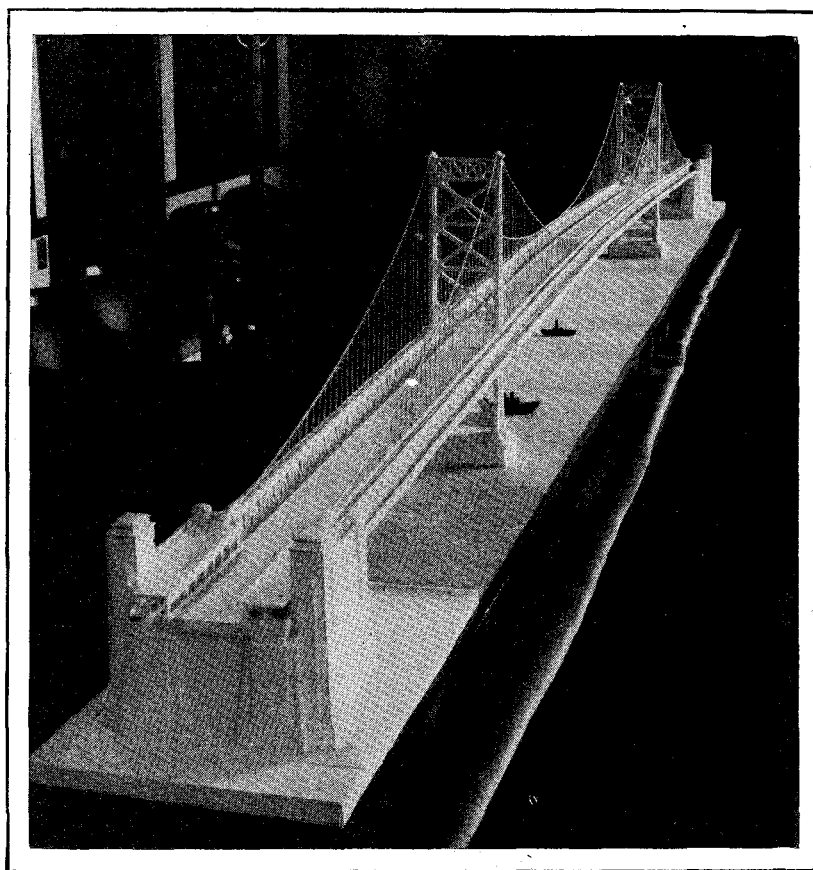
THE FELLOW WHO USED TO WAIT FOR SECOND TABLE IS BEING SERVED FIRST NOWADAYS

Knott in the Dallas (Texas) News



THE WELL-KNOWN SIAMESE TWINS

From G. R. Farmer, Henderson, Texas



MODEL OF THE NEW BRIDGE ACROSS THE DELAWARE RIVER AT PHILADELPHIA

regions in the White Mountains and the Appalachians have been served. The Government has acquired some two million acres.

But there are about thirty million acres in our Eastern mountains not suitable for agriculture. These should be used for growing timber. Especially should they be acquired by the Government on watersheds. They may still be acquired at a low price. For instance, at the head-waters of the Alleghany and Monongahela Rivers some lands may be bought as low as \$3 an acre.

Hence it is to be hoped that next year the appropriation for the carrying out of the provisions of the Weeks Law will surely be restored.

#### THE WILSON FOUNDATION

THERE are indications of a generous response to the proposal to establish a million-dollar fund to be called the Woodrow Wilson Foundation. The income of this fund is to be used to make awards for notable and valuable "service to democracy, public welfare, liberal thought, or peace through justice." A committee or "jury" of representative men and women will from time to time select the recipients of these awards.

Certainly such a plan tends to encourage as well as to recognize most desira-

ble forms of patriotism and devotion to ideals. Those who have differed from Mr. Wilson's views and policies need not hesitate to approve this method of declaring belief in his sincerity and recognizing his distinction; although they might deprecate some of the controversial and argumentative utterances of speakers at the meeting in New York City which set the movement on foot. The true view is stated in an editorial in the New York "Times:" "The Wilson Foundation is to foster perpetually the theory and practice, the high, generous conception and fruitful activity of public service and service to mankind, such as Mr. Wilson has held, illustrated, lived, and done."

Mr. Franklin D. Roosevelt, Assistant Secretary of the Navy under President Wilson, stated at the meeting that the practical working of the fund would be as follows: "The prize might go to the Mayor of a city, the Governor of a State, to a President or Cabinet member, a scientist or an editor, an author whose book has influenced the thought of the people for good—in fact, to any man or group of men who have had a hard problem to tackle and have solved it to the benefit of the people at large."

These are capital illustrations of what such a fund might accomplish in novel directions.

#### THE DELAWARE BRIDGE

ON January 6, with all due formality construction work was begun on a new bridge to cross the Delaware River at Philadelphia, joining the shores of Pennsylvania and New Jersey. We reproduce here a photograph of a model of the bridge as it will appear when completed. The bridge will be 1.82 miles in length and will cost, it is estimated, in the neighborhood of twenty-nine million dollars. It is hoped to complete it by 1926.

Those who desire to see a picture of the section of Philadelphia which will be touched by this bridge may turn to Mr. Waldo's article elsewhere in this issue. Of course there have been some changes in the water-front of Philadelphia since our illustration was originally drawn—even those vaudeville actors who regard a joke on the torpidity of Philadelphia as "hokum" would doubtless admit that. But what an astonishing revelation it would have been if the new Delaware bridge could have been dropped suddenly into the Philadelphia of Toby Hirte! Father Time, if he cared to jumble centuries a bit, could find an admirable outlet for whatever instinct for practical joking he may possess.

#### ENFORCING LABOR CONTRACTS

ONE thing that students and writers on the industrial question are agreed upon is that where formal contracts are made between workers or workers' associations, on the one hand and employers or employers' associations, on the other, such contracts should be carried out in good faith for the time specified therein. More than once The Outlook has condemned the action of unions in repudiating contracts, either officially through their unions or unofficially through what have been called rebel strikes. What applies to one side applies equally to the other.

Recently Justice Wagner, of the New York Supreme Court, made permanent an injunction against an employers' association known as the Cloak, Suit and Skirt Manufacturers' Association. His decision was based on the ground that the employers represented in this Association had violated their contract with the members of the unions. He said that this was the first injunction issued by a court in favor of the unions as against employers.

The unions regard the decision as a great victory for organized labor, although it must be admitted that this view does not seem to be quite consistent with the fact that organized labor has in the past protested against the use of the injunction in favor of

employers as against labor. Mr. Morris Hillquit, who acted as counsel for the workers, admitted that, despite the advantage to his side, he does not yet believe that court injunctions are the right method of settling industrial disputes. Mr. Untermeyer, the associate counsel of Mr. Hillquit, declared his belief in "the justice, wisdom, and efficiency of the injunction in labor disputes."

Looking at the matter from the point of view of the public at large, the moral value and industrial justice of enforcing contracts seem obvious.

The employers have agreed to abide by the contract until it expires next June, and the strike has been called off. Meanwhile appeal will be made to the highest New York court, the Court of Appeals. If Judge Wagner's action is sustained by that court, it would seem to follow that the strikers can demand pay for the time they have been out of work, during which the employers have demanded that they should adopt methods of work not consistent with the conditions of the contract.

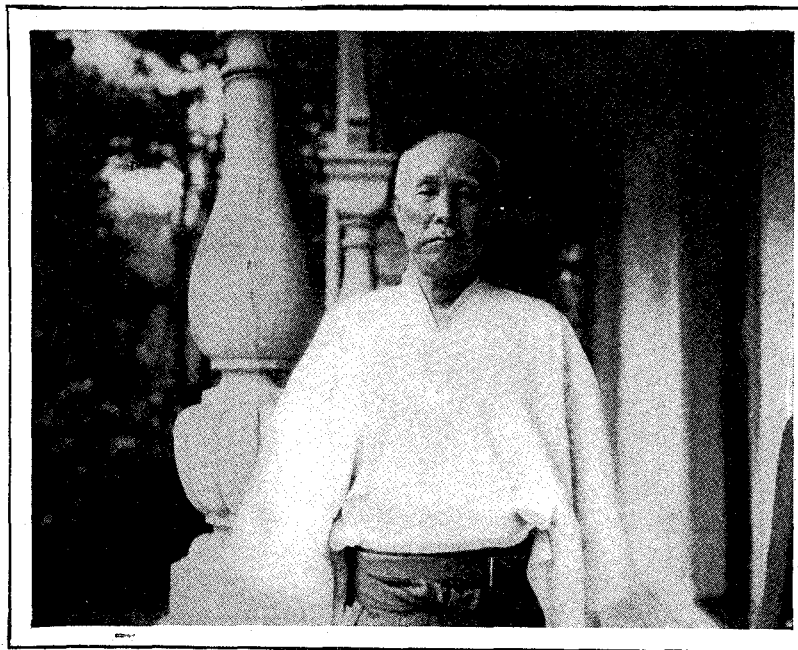
### MARQUIS OKUMA

**B**y the death of Marquis Shigenobu Okuma, Ex-Prime Minister, Japan loses a statesman who has been probably better known throughout the world than has any other Japanese. He was nearly eighty-four years old. His life has covered the great period of Japan's reconstruction.

A Samurai, Okuma was educated in the Samurai clan school, where he was thoroughly drilled in the classics, and specially in "Bushido," the Samurai code of ethics, honor, and patriotism. His first contact with American ideas came when he went at an early age to Nagasaki, then the center of the new occidental learning. There he studied the English and Dutch languages and imbibed ideas of European and American progress and liberalism which seemed blasphemous to the old Samurai conservatives.

Mutsuhito, the young Emperor, recognized the genius of Okuma and appointed him to an important office, from which he rose to be Minister of Finance. In this powerful position he was foremost in creating new systems of local government and of education. He then became repeatedly Minister of Foreign Affairs. Meanwhile he had formed the progressive party, and for many years remained its leader. This party occupied an intermediate position between the conservatives and radicals.

Okuma was also repeatedly Prime Minister and was such during the World War. Perhaps the most notable events of that term of office were the capture of Mantung and the imposition on China



Photograph by E. L. Conn

MARQUIS OKUMA

of the famous or infamous Twenty-One Demands. In consequence of the agitation caused by the publication of these demands Okuma retired from office in 1916. His policy towards China seemed inconsistent with the principles which had actuated him hitherto; indeed, he pressed a seemingly non-conciliatory foreign policy to the end, having informed the world only a few weeks ago that Shantung, Manchuria, and Siberia remained closed questions.

In Japan he will probably be longest remembered as the founder of Waseda University, which has become the largest institution of Japan under private control. It was founded particularly for the teaching of law, political economy, and literature. Okuma also founded the Japanese Women's University.

Such was the notable man of whom Mr. Hanihara, one of the Japanese delegates to the Washington Conference, and himself one of Okuma's pupils, declares, "He was one of our greatest national figures. His services to the Empire can scarcely be measured."

### POLITICAL PUBLICITY DIRECT AND INDIRECT

**T**RUMAN HANDY NEWBERRY is now a Senator of the United States in good standing, or, to use a seemingly contradictory phrase that means the same thing, he has officially received the right to occupy his seat. Ever since his election in November, 1918, his right to the Senatorship has been insecure. Now, however, his right has been confirmed and established by vote of the Senate (46 to 41) dismissing

the contest of Henry Ford against him, declaring him a duly elected Senator from the State of Michigan for the term ending in March, 1925, and condemning and disapproving the expenditure of such a large amount of money as was reported in securing his nomination.

The Newberry case has excited a great deal of feeling among both those who have supported and those who have opposed the charges which have made it the subject not only of an issue in the Senate but also of criminal prosecution. Unfortunately, much of this feeling has been obviously partisan. Comparison between the Lorimer case and the Newberry case has been made, but in the question at issue the divergence is very great.

The Lorimer case involved charges of bribery and the corrupt use of money, which appeared only incidentally in the case of Mr. Newberry and were eliminated by the Court before the case was settled in the Senate. Mr. Lorimer was a notorious representative of political methods which were essentially corrupt and his career was injurious to the public interest. Mr. Newberry, on the other hand, has been identified with sound and wholesome political influences and his career has been of great public service.

The substance of the accusation against Mr. Newberry has been that in securing his nomination his friends and supporters spent—largely for advertising designed to influence voters—an amount of money so great as to be contrary to public interest and, in fact, in excess of the law. In brief, it is the charge that Mr. Newberry undertook to buy his seat in the Senate.

Mr. Newberry and others who were

defendants with him in the case were indicted, tried, and convicted, not of the corrupt use of money, but of expenditures in excess of the amount allowed by law. When their case, however, came before the Supreme Court, the decision was reversed, on the ground that the Congress of the United States could not control primary elections, and Mr. Newberry and his associates were freed from the charge. To set an arbitrary limit for the expenditure of money for elections is to create a crime where no moral wrong is necessarily involved, and it was a relief to many reasonable students of public affairs to find that this law which was based on an arbitrary distinction proved on another ground to be unconstitutional.

The accusation against Mr. Newberry seems the more unreasonable because of the circumstances of the case. His opponent in the primaries and afterwards in the election was Mr. Ford, the automobile manufacturer. By a campaign of newspaper advertising which must have been exceedingly expensive, but which was not carried on by any political committee and for which no account has been publicly rendered, Mr. Ford disseminated in his own State of Michigan and elsewhere his own peculiar political doctrines. He particularly advertised his own theories of pacifism, and by means of advertising had gained a large following which made him—even though it may have been without his intention—the wielder of great political power. If nominations were still made in Michigan by party committees, this following that Mr. Ford had secured by advertising would not have been so important; but nominations in Michigan are made at the primaries by popular vote, and a man with such a following as Mr. Ford had secured had a great advantage. The only possible way of carrying on a contest in such a case is by advertising on the other side. The advertising on Mr. Newberry's behalf was frankly political. Those who were responsible for it had advice that they were exercising their rights in carrying on their campaign by this means. When, therefore, the men responsible for Mr. Newberry's campaign, and even Mr. Newberry himself, who took no active part in the campaign because he was on duty in the Navy, were convicted, it was virtually decided that a rich man can advertise himself and thereby secure political advantage provided his advertising which is political in effect is not political in name, while the man who profits by advertising frankly used as a means of gaining support for his policies runs the risk of jail.

The excessive use of money in politics is a real danger to which no observer of modern democracy can be indifferent;

but the effort to prevent that evil by arbitrary law, which gives a monopoly to the candidate on whose behalf money is used lavishly provided it is used indirectly, is not in the public interest.

## SHOULD AMERICA ACCEPT?

EUROPE has asked America to talk over questions of trade and money. The Supreme Council, which consists of the chief representatives of the principal nations that were allies in the war, has arranged for a conference at Genoa, Italy. To this conference the Council has invited, not only all the Allied nations, but also the European nations that were their enemies—Germany, Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria—and Russia as well. It is predicted—now that Poincaré has succeeded Briand as Premier of France—that the Genoa Conference will never be held. Briand had acquiesced in the plan to ask the Bolshevik Government of Russia to come to Genoa; but Poincaré is now reported as saying that France will not sit down at a table with Soviet Russia as an equal. On the other hand, it is reported that Poincaré has recognized the obligation which France had already incurred by the prior action of Briand in joining in the invitation. In any case, the invitation has not yet been recalled; and until it is the assumption is that America must decide whether she wishes to engage in a financial and economic conference with the nations of Europe.

All of these nations of Europe are in trouble. Some of them have Governments that are on the verge of bankruptcy and are practically insolvent. Many of these nations owe money to the United States. They are a group of debtors asking for a chance to consult with their chief creditor.

Naturally one would suppose that the task of building up the material welfare of Europe was Europe's business. It would be Europe's business alone if it were not for the fact that America was a very important participant in the war which has turned Europe upside down, that America is an important factor in the business and trade relations of the world which every one would like to see restored to normal conditions, and that, particularly, America has lent these nations enormous sums of money which they have not yet repaid. It is perhaps not to be supposed that the nations of Europe could plan to consult with one another about their economic reconstruction without asking America to join their conference; and it is the impulse of generous minds to respond with cordiality to the invitation with a view

to the encouragement of mutual confidence and with the hope that there will be a common benefit by the exchange of advice.

An unqualified acceptance of the proposal to America to join in the conference is, however, open to serious objection.

At the last Presidential election America decided by an unprecedented majority that she did not wish to engage in the settlement of European questions or participate in European responsibilities. America has no right and no desire to have a voice in settling questions which European nations should settle for themselves. Such attempt as America made to help arrange European frontiers, for example, was not attended with such success as to warrant further adventures of the same sort. This is as true of economic as of political questions. Furthermore, even if there were reasons for discussing with Europe common economic problems, the objection to an unqualified acceptance of the invitation to Genoa is that such an acceptance would be likely to raise false hopes.

In the first place, American representation at Genoa might very easily and plausibly lead the peoples of Europe to suppose that America, whom they picture as both wealthy and generous, would be ready to discuss some plan for relieving them of their burden of debt. There is, however, no indication that America is planning to cancel those debts. At present America has not urged the European nations to pay their debts, and has not even collected the interest; but it is plain that a great many people in America expect the interest to be paid some time, and even the debts themselves to be paid ultimately, and look to the payment of those debts as a source for further compensation of the men who fought in the war. Certainly it would be dishonest in fact, if not in intention, for our Government to pursue a course which, on the one hand, would lead the American people to expect a bonus for their soldiers to be paid from the money that Europe owes them, and, on the other hand, would lead the European people to expect relief from the burden of payment.

In the second place, American representation at Genoa would inevitably lead the peoples of Europe, specifically the people of Russia, and more specifically the Bolsheviks, to suppose that America, by sitting at the same table with Lenin or his representatives, would be recognizing Russia's Bolshevik rule as a legitimate government. It is true that the invitation which the Supreme Council extended to Russia and to the other nations was accompanied with cer-

tain conditions which the invited Governments were expected to accept, and that these conditions included the observance of international practices which the Russian Bolsheviks have taken pride in discarding. These conditions we outlined last week as follows:

Each country has a right to choose for itself its governmental system, but foreign capital cannot be looked for to help any country unless the capitalists are adequately assured that their property rights will be respected, and this is not possible unless the governments desiring capital engage to recognize all existing public debts and to indemnify foreign interests for loss caused by confiscation or sequestration of property, and to establish legal measures for the enforcement of contracts; and all the contracting nations ought to engage to abstain from political propaganda

in other countries and from all aggression on other countries.

It appears at first sight that these conditions are in full accord with the attitude which the American Government has taken toward the Russian Bolsheviks. Indeed, it has been understood that this was the President's view. In general they are in accord with American policy, with a vital exception. In the invitation issued by the Supreme Council it is stated that one of the essentials is a feeling of security which "cannot be re-established unless nations or their governments desiring to obtain foreign credits freely engage: (a) To recognize all public debts and obligations," etc. Contrast, however, with this the following words from the statement made last March by the

American Secretary of State, Mr. Hughes: "It is only in the productivity of Russia that there is any hope for the Russian people, and it is idle to expect resumption of trade until the economic bases of production are securely established. Production is conditioned upon the safety of life, the recognition by firm guaranties of private property, the sanctity of contract, and the rights of free labor. If fundamental changes are contemplated, involving due regard for the protection of persons and property and the establishment of conditions essential to the maintenance of commerce, this Government will be glad to have convincing evidence of the consummation of such changes, and until this evidence is supplied this Government is unable to per-

## THE EVIDENCE IN THE CASE

### THE INVITATION TO GENOA

**I**N asking the nations of Europe, including Russia and Germany, to assemble next March in the conference to discuss the economic conditions of Europe, the Supreme Council, consisting of the heads of Government in Britain, France, and Italy, laid down certain conditions in the following terms:

"The Allied Powers consider that the fundamental and indispensable conditions for the realization of an efficacious effort are capable of being defined in general terms as follows:

"(1) The nations cannot claim the right to dictate to each other the principles according to which they must organize within their frontiers, their régime of property, their economy, and their government. It is the right of each country to choose for itself the system which it prefers.

"(2) Nevertheless it is not possible to place foreign capital in order to help a country unless the foreigners who provide the capital have a certitude that their property and their rights will be respected and that the fruits of their enterprise will be assured.

"(3) This feeling of security cannot be re-established unless nations or their governments desiring to obtain foreign credits freely engage: (a) To recognize all public debts and obligations which have been contracted, or will be contracted or guaranteed by states, municipalities, or other public organizations, and to recognize also obligation to restore or, in case of default, to indemnify all foreign interests for loss or damage which has been caused by the confiscation or sequestration of property; (b) to establish legal and juristic punishment and assure the impartial execution of all commercial or other contracts.

"(4) The nations ought to have available convenient means of exchange; in general, financial and monetary conditions ought to exist which offer sufficient guaranties.

"(5) All nations ought to engage to abstain from all propaganda which is

subversive of the political system established in other countries.

"(6) All nations ought to take a common engagement to abstain from all aggression on their neighbors.

"If with a view to assuring the necessary conditions for the development of the commerce of Russia the Russian Government claims official recognition, the Allied Governments cannot accord this recognition unless the Russian Government accepts the preceding conditions."

### FIRM GUARANTIES AND CONVINCING EVIDENCE OF A CONSUMMATION

**T**HE policy of the American Government toward Bolsheviks in Russia was announced last March by the American Secretary of State, Mr. Hughes, in a statement transmitted to Reval and handed by the American Consul there to the Soviet Assistant Foreign Minister, Litvinoff, as follows:

"The Government of the United States views with deep sympathy and grave concern the plight of the people of Russia, and desires to aid by every appropriate means in promoting proper opportunities through which commerce can be established upon a sound basis. It is manifest to this Government that in existing circumstances there is no assurance for the development of trade, as the supplies which Russia might now be able to obtain would be wholly inadequate to meet her needs and no lasting good can result so long as the present causes of progressive impoverishment continue to operate. It is only in the productivity of Russia that there is any hope for the Russian people, and it is idle to expect resumption of trade until the economic bases of production are securely established. Production is conditioned upon the safety of life, the recognition by firm guaranties of private property, the sanctity of contract, and the rights of free labor. If fundamental changes are contemplated, involving due regard for the protec-

tion of persons and property and the establishment of conditions essential to the maintenance of commerce, this Government will be glad to have convincing evidence of the consummation of such changes, and until this evidence is supplied this Government is unable to perceive that there is any proper basis for considering trade relations."

### ON THE WORD OF A BOLSHEVIK

**W**HETHER any pledge given by the Bolshevik leaders of the so-called Soviet Republic of Russia to observe the principles on which business credit and international relations depend can be trusted no one knows better than the Bolsheviks themselves. Here are two recent statements by men now in control of Russia.

Addressing the Congress of the Communist Party at Moscow last March, Leo Kamenev, President of the Moscow Soviet, is reported by the Moscow "Pravda" as saying concerning trade agreements:

"Does this mean that we are on the road to peace with the capitalist world? No, these agreements are merely a new form of struggle for the establishment of Communism. . . . With each additional shovel of coal, with each new bucket of oil, which we shall obtain with the aid of foreign technical methods, foreign capital will only be digging for itself in Russia its own historical grave."

And, writing in the "Pravda" for November 13 last, a copy of which was recently received in this country, Karl Radek, one of the most prominent Bolshevik leaders, says:

"The concessions we are making to foreign capital have been made necessary only by the delay of the world revolution, and the lesson of these concessions is this: you, proletarians of other countries, have not yet succeeded in overthrowing your bourgeoisie. . . . Hurry, therefore, with your struggle. But do not carry on this struggle on the basis of the new policy of the Soviet Government, but on that of the old Communist tactics."

ceive that there is any proper basis for considering trade relations."

The contrast is obvious. In the invitation Russia is asked to engage to observe contracts. That is, the Bolsheviks are asked to pledge their word, to make a solemn promise for the future. In Mr. Hughes's statement Russia is asked not for a promise but for performance; the Bolsheviks are called upon to produce *convincing evidence of the consummation* of the changes required.

The Bolshevik Government cannot

produce such evidence, and a promise of the Bolsheviks is not worth the value of the air it disturbs in its utterance.

We hope that the invitation to Genoa, if accepted at all, will be accepted only on stringent conditions. It might be accepted by the expression of a willingness to send to the conference an official observer with the right to sit at all the proceedings but without authority to speak for the Government. Or it might be accepted in such a form and with such reservation as to make it clear first

that the American Government does not contemplate discussing any proposal concerning the cancellation of the debts which European nations owe us and that under no circumstances is the fact that a representative of America sits at the same table with a representative of the so-called Soviet Republic of Russia to be construed as a recognition of the Bolsheviks or as a sign that as long as Bolshevik rule continues there is any prospect of the resumption of American trade with Russia.

## UNINTERESTING BUT IMPORTANT

### EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE FROM THE ARMAMENT CONFERENCE AT WASHINGTON

BY ERNEST HAMLIN ABBOTT

WITH moustachios as military as the Kaiser's, Lieutenant-Colonel Repington cut a distinguished figure among the correspondents during the earlier period of the Armament Conference. He represents a point of view at the opposite extreme of that held by those who have thought that the war of 1914-18 was a war to end war. He has expressed his point of view very tersely by the simple means of giving to his recent book the title, "The First World War." That is a military man's belief—that there are going to be other world wars. But even at the opposite extreme a similar view prevails. Woodrow Wilson himself dismissed the question of the freedom of the seas as being of no importance, since that concerned only neutrals in war time, and, in his opinion, hereafter there will be no neutrals—that is, that if there is to be another war it will be a world war.

If that war comes which militarists expect and pacifists fear, it is not unlikely to have its origin in that part of the Far East which would be inclosed in a circle of which the easterly coast of the Japanese archipelago would describe an arc. This circle would inclose Shantung, Mongolia, Manchuria, and a great part of Siberia.

To most Americans this part of the world is very remote. Shantung has become familiar to them by repeated appearance in the newspapers as a bone of contention between China and Japan, but whether it is a city or a province, an island or a peninsula, probably a good many Americans who have very pronounced views about the importance of "returning it to China" could not say. Manchuria probably brings no image to the ordinary American mind, and Siberia is likely to suggest little more than exile and prison colonies.

This is the region which the Armament Conference has yet to deal with; it casts its shadow over all the rest of what the Conference has done; it does not present any simple issue like that

of scrapping battleships. It is important, no doubt; but to the man who is thinking of his income tax, and of the next baseball season, and of the prospects for better business, it is uninteresting.

This, however, may become to every American a region of absorbing interest if ever the conflicts that are smoldering there should burst into flame. If an assassin's bullet fired in Bosnia started a train of events that finally sent two million Americans across the seas to fight on European battlefields, it is unbelievable that a war arising out of the situation in the Far East would not ultimately involve the United States.

Within the circumference of that Far Eastern circle three great peoples come into contact with one another—the Russians, the Chinese, and the Japanese. Within that circle lie historic battle-grounds on which have been decided the fortunes of these races in the past. There it was that Kublai Khan, gathering his legions which had conquered the mainland, embarked them upon thousands of ships to assail Japan, and there it was that he was repulsed by the Samurai swordsmen and the August typhoon. There it was that Russia forced her way across the sparsely settled Siberian plains seeking in vain for a way to the ice-free ocean. There it was too that Japan, after generations of seclusion in her island hermitage, won her two successive victories over the Chinese and Russian giants. The time is past when such struggles can begin without threatening the peace, the welfare, and even the destiny of the rest of the world. Anything that can substitute justice and good will for animosity and sanguinary war in that region is of direct interest to all nations, including America.

Neither this Armament Conference at Washington nor any other single conference can settle all the questions in the Far East that may lead to conflict; but this Conference has undertaken to consider for settlement—under the head-

ing *agenda*, "things to be done"—questions which not only may be a cause of future strife but are the cause of present controversies. To each of these controversies Japan is a party. For the rest of the Conference, then, after the naval agreement is framed and put in treaty form, the attention of the delegates will be directed chiefly, if not wholly, to what Japan has been doing and what she proposes to do.

One of the things that she has been doing is to incur the hostility of her neighbor China. Those who believe that she has been at fault in this and those who believe that she is suffering from the consequences of China's own feebleness and incapacity agree in the fact that the Chinese suspicion of Japan has been growing and Chinese animosity to Japan has never been more acute.

The occasion of this animosity is at present Japan's course with regard to Shantung.

In 1898 Germany came into possession of the harbor of Kiaochau, which is the principal harbor in the Shantung Peninsula, by an arrangement which she had forced upon China in retribution for the murder of a German missionary. Together with this harbor Germany got land surrounding it including the port of Tsingtao and certain concessions including the right to a railway from Tsingtao to Tsinanfu. In November 1914, Japan won from Germany this harbor and these concessions as a prize of war. In 1915 Japan presented certain demands upon China which included a demand to recognize Japan's rights which she had obtained from Germany as well as demands for rights in Manchuria and demands for the appointment of Japanese advisers in Chinese political, financial, and military affairs. When Japan presented these demands the Allied Governments were deep in war and were, moreover, under obligations to Japan for her services in ousting Germany from the Pacific. America however, then at peace, made a protest

to the effect that she was not to be understood as acquiescent in any arrangement infringing existing rights in the Far East, including the integrity of China. These Twenty-one Demands made a very bad impression upon the rest of the world and are widely acknowledged by many Japanese to constitute a grave blunder. Some of them were later withdrawn, but others were embodied in treaty form and confirmed by Yuan Shi-kai, the then autocratic representative of all the Government that China then had. Assurances from Japanese officials that Japan intended to restore what she had obtained in China have not been accepted at their face value by Chinese or by many neutral observers of Japan's course. In international law Japan's position is very strong, for she was confirmed in her rights in Shantung not only by her treaty with China but by the Treaty of Versailles at the close of the World War. During practically the whole course of the Armament Conference the Chinese and Japanese delegations have been engaged in "conversations" on this subject. The matter has been reduced to what seems a very minor question. The port at Tsingtao is to be opened under Chinese auspices to the trade of all nations on even terms, and the railway, it is agreed, will ultimately pass into China's hands. The only question that remains as I write is one as to the terms of the transfer of the railway. China has agreed to pay for the railway and there is no dispute as to the price. Japan, however, has been insisting that China shall borrow the money from Japan to pay for the railway, and that the loan shall be for a short term—only fifteen years, with an option to pay it off at the end of five years and a half upon due notice—but that in the meantime the railway shall be under the direction of a Japanese traffic manager and the finances subjected to a Japanese accountant. The Chinese, on the other hand, want to take full control of the railway at once and pay cash for it or count the money owing to Japan as a debt to be paid at China's option within three years. The real trouble over Shantung, however, has not been a matter of terms; it has been a matter of temperaments. A feeble, chaotic, and politically impractical Chinese Government has been dealing with an efficient, ambitious, unified, and unsympathetic Japanese Government. In view of what Japan did in 1915, the concessions which the Japanese Government has made are astonishing; but in view of what America did in Cuba the Japanese concessions have appeared to be grudging. There is no doubt that American sentiment, even though uninformed to a great degree, has been on China's side, and Japan realizes this, and feels that it is not altogether just.

Besides the Shantung question, there are questions which involve China and Japan in Manchuria. These are complicated by the fact that they have been

made the subject of agreement in treaty form between the two nations, while they involve, in the opinion of many, the integrity and independence of China and the rights of other nations.

As if it were not enough to incur the hostility of the Chinese, Japan has been pursuing a course that has aroused the hostility of the Russians in Siberia. There are many who believe that this is not wholly or chiefly Japan's fault. Russia once proved an overwhelming danger to Japan's existence. Now she is under the control of men whose political and economic theories the Japanese regard as a menace to their own stability. Russia, like China, is chaotic and feeble, though only temporarily so, and a feeble, chaotic state is always a source of danger to its neighbors. Japan has taken measures to safeguard her own interests. She has apparently also at the same time taken advantage of her neighbor's weakness to secure a position on the mainland which she did not have before. During the war she was invited by America to send a few thousand troops into Siberia in a joint effort to safeguard the journey of Czechoslovak soldiers from European Russia to their home by way of the Pacific. America sent in about seven thousand troops, and when the Czechoslovaks were safely evacuated withdrew those troops from Russian territory. Japan, on the other hand, sent in ten times as many soldiers and maintained them there and even increased their number. There have been massacres there in Siberia for which the people of Siberia hold the Japanese responsible. On the other hand, the Japanese say that they must hold their troops there to protect Japanese subjects, and that when protection is assured to these Japanese in Siberia the Japanese troops will be withdrawn "as soon as possible." In response, those who speak for the Siberians say that the Japanese subjects in Siberia are chiefly those who are engaged in trade with the army; and that, therefore, there is no hope of ever getting the Japanese army out if the Japanese soldiers stay as long as the Japanese citizens do, for the citizens will certainly stay as long as the soldiers do.

To many observers not unfriendly to Japan the course which Japan has pursued in Siberia has seemed Prussian in its methods and its object. Siberia is a country rich in natural resources. It looks as if Japan had taken advantage of the World War and of Russia's collapse to gain in Siberia as well as in Manchuria advantages to which she was not entitled. Once before Japan undertook an adventure on the mainland of Asia. In the sixteenth century Hideyoshi, the stable boy who became virtually Shogun of Japan, undertook to conquer China "as a man rolls up a map." (The story of his adventure is vividly told in Vice-Admiral G. A. Ballard's volume "The Influence of the Sea on the Political History of Japan.") He raised an army of three

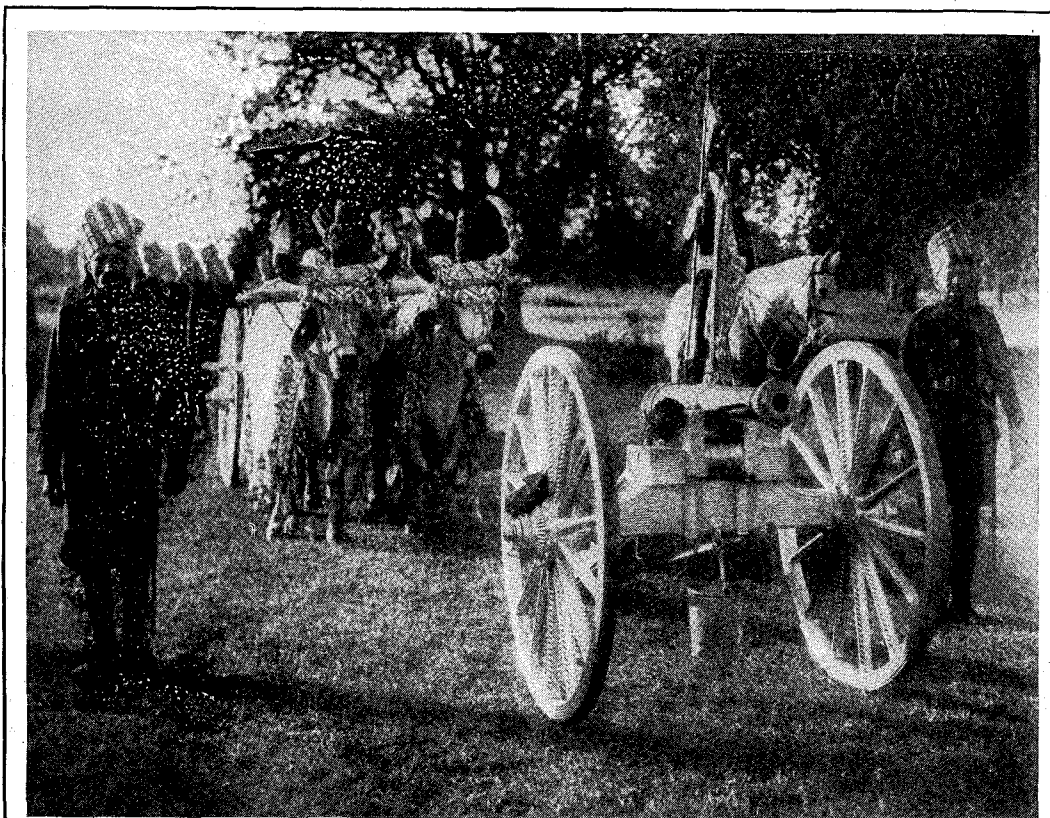
hundred thousand men and landed them in Korea, but found his conquest turned to defeat. Japan might well take a lesson not only from this event in her own history but also from England's adventures in France. If Japan is aiming now to establish an empire in any part of what is now Manchuria and Siberia, she is courting disaster. If she is not undertaking any such enterprise, she will find it to her interest to make her intentions clear to the rest of the world; and there is no opportunity that she is likely to have so useful for that purpose as the one she has now at this Armament Conference.

In many respects Japan's representatives at the Conference have adjusted themselves to unexpected circumstances with admirable adaptiveness, but Japan is inclined to be inflexible when it comes to a question of rights which she regards as based on the treaties that she has made and on the precedents established by other nations. She has contended from the beginning that the controversy over Shantung was one between China and herself alone and had no place in an international conference. She holds also that the questions concerning her status in Manchuria are likewise out of place in a general international conference and concern only herself and China, to which she holds that Manchuria belongs. If America, in view of the fact that she made a statement reserving her rights at the time of Japan's treaties with China, wishes to have the Manchurian questions discussed, Japan, it is understood, is willing to talk them over with America, but not with a miscellaneous group of nations. If other nations insist on bringing up Japanese treaties with China, then Japan will insist on bringing up for discussion all the treaties which these nations have made with China. Of course, in a Conference of this sort a single nation can virtually stop the discussion of any subject, for no decision is valid unless it is unanimous. If Japan wishes to exercise this veto power, she can do so; but the result may be costly to herself. Like every other nation, she needs the good will of her neighbors. Japan has a great opportunity to earn that good will by her course in this Conference from now to its close. She has done a great deal to earn that good will already, and it is hardly conceivable that she will wish to sacrifice it now. To hinder in any way the development of good understanding in the Far East at present is only to make more difficult the development of that good understanding in the future. Without better understanding than there is now, there will certainly be conflict some day where the Russians, the Chinese, and the Japanese meet.

Although the Armament Conference has for the time being been crowded from the front pages of the newspapers, it still has what is perhaps its most important task ahead of it.

January 16, 1922.

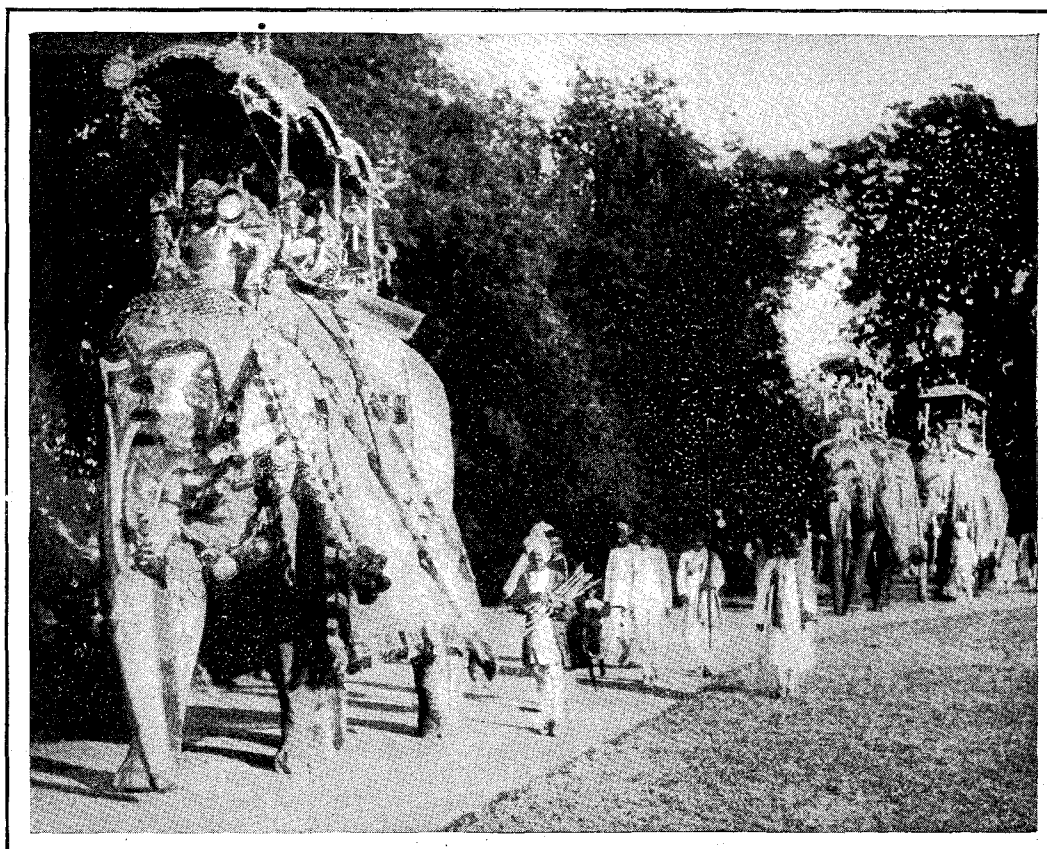
# THE INDIA OF PRINCES AND ROMANCE



A SOLID SILVER  
CANNON,  
TRIMMED  
WITH GOLD,  
IN THE PARADE  
IN HONOR OF  
THE PRINCE  
OF WALES  
DURING HIS VISIT  
TO THE GAEKWAR  
OF BARODA

The gorgeous display of Baroda's wealth during the Prince's visit included this cannon, drawn by a pair of milk-white bullocks whose trappings were heavily decorated with gold and gems

Underwood



THESE GAYLY  
CAPARISONED  
ELEPHANTS  
TOOK PART IN  
THE SPLENDID  
ENTERTAINMENT  
PROVIDED FOR  
THE PRINCE  
BY THE GAEKWAR  
OF BARODA,  
ONE OF THE  
WEALTHIEST OF  
THE LOYAL  
INDIAN  
POTENTATES

Underwood

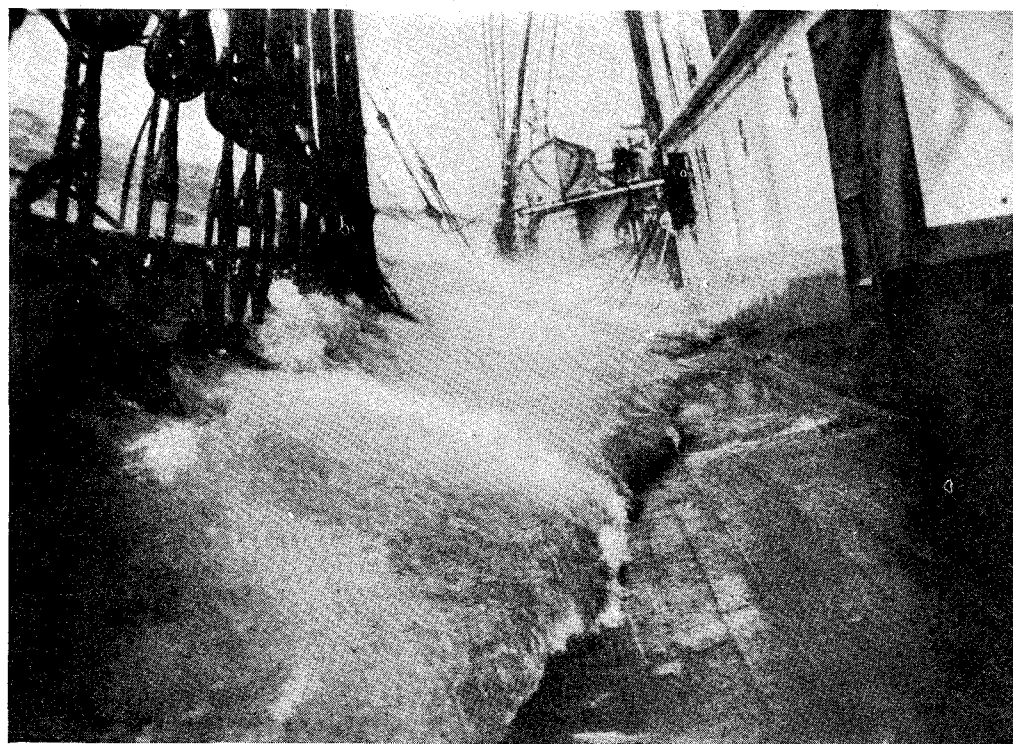
# TURMOIL ON LAND AND SEA

## THE GREAT MEXICAN VOLCANO, POPOCATEPETL, AGAIN ACTIVE

Popocatepetl, which is situated near the City of Mexico, has during the past few months again been intermittently active, smoke and fire issuing from the mouth of the volcano and terrorizing the inhabitants of the near-by regions



International



## "TAKING IT GREEN"

When seas come aboard over the bulwarks it is no time for promenading on deck. The picture was taken during a recent storm on the not always aptly named Pacific

(C) Underwood

# THE FRENCH POINT OF VIEW

BY SIDNEY BALLOU

**P**UT the Conference back some twenty-five years. Assume that England and Germany, instead of embarking on their career of naval competition, had decided that it would be more sensible to limit naval armaments. They call a conference of the leading naval Powers (England, Germany, France, and Russia) and the lesser naval Powers (the United States and Japan). A ratio of capital ships for the four leading Powers is proposed, it not being considered necessary to consult America and Japan at this stage of the proceedings. The Big Four thresh out their difficulties among themselves, agreeing upon something like 6-5-3-3. They then announce that they consider that existing strength would call for about 1.75 for America and Japan.

Suppressing a slight feeling of resentment at having been handed our ratio by an inner council to which we were not invited, we first demand the minimum of strength accorded to others, but finally accept the proportion suggested for us. We are then reminded that the prescribed ratio is to run through all forms of naval strength, both offensive and defensive, and that in a class of vessels which we consider wholly defensive we are to be limited to the same proportion in respect to those Powers which have just assured themselves of complete command of the sea.

What would America do? To say nothing of the intemperate remarks of those who saw only an attempt by foreign nations to relegate us permanently to the rank of a third-class naval Power, would not those who really believed in the principle of such an agreement have cause to hesitate? Would they not think that the same argument which, in the interests of world peace, would forbid a nation to be dominant both on sea and on land would discountenance a marked supremacy in both offensive and defensive craft? Would the insistence on the same yardstick to measure capital ships and submarines strike us as more logical than the theory that those possessing superiority in offense should concede at least equality in defensive naval power?

Would it improve matters if one of our chief competitors told us that the type of ship which we believed to be defensive was without military value at all and that the real objection to our possessing it was the fear that in stress of war we would use it in an inhuman and barbarous manner lately under condemnation by practically the entire world?

If France is not precisely in this situation, it is not because the analogy is less favorable to her. Twenty-five years

ago a crystallization of the existing status would have left the United States in an inferior position, it is true, but in no worse relative position than she had occupied for many years. The present Conference finds France at the lowest level as regards naval armament that she has occupied for fifty years.

Before the war France had a naval policy which had existed in principle since 1880. This programme called for the maintenance of four squadrons of six capital ships each, for thirty cruisers, and proportionate lighter craft. At the date of the declaration of war she was working upon a specific programme, voted in 1912, which, added to her existing tonnage, would have given her in 1921 a total of 700,000 tons of capital ships.

Allied with the sea power of Great Britain, France stopped all naval construction during the war in order to devote the full activities of her navy yards and arsenals to the manufacture of war material for herself and her allies. After the armistice her financial situation and the necessities of reconstruction compelled the abandonment of the 1912 programme, including the scrapping of four dreadnoughts on the stocks and the conversion of a fifth. The United States, Japan, and, later, Great Britain resumed their interrupted programmes forthwith.

Upon the calling of the Conference France took stock of her national needs, and brought a carefully prepared programme calling for 420,000 tons of capital ships, 450,000 tons of light cruisers and destroyers, and 130,000 tons of submarines. At this time, it will be remembered, the "built, building, and authorized" plans of Great Britain and the United States totaled well over a million tons each of capital ships, and that of Japan over 900,000.

The Conference opened with the drastic cuts proposed by Secretary Hughes, and the three chief competitors went into committee to settle their differences. When these had been adjusted, France and Italy were called in. Still unconscious that she was expected to abrogate the naval rank held for the centuries from the destruction of the Spanish Armada until the rise of German sea power, France now proposed to reduce her capital ship programme to 350,000 tons, or a little over the 315,000 allotted to Japan.

This proposal was published from the secrecy of the committee room by the British, accompanied by a blare of denunciation and talk of the "bombshell" which threatened to wreck the entire Conference. Secretary Hughes wrote a firm letter, reminding France that it

was in the power of her competitors to make the ratio 6 to 1 if they wished. France thereupon accepted the 175,000 tons suggested for her, which on the increase due to the Mutsu settlement became about a 1.66 ratio.

In so far as the war had left France the dominant military power, a substantial reduction in her comparative naval strength accorded with the fitness of things. One does not have to be a Frenchman, however, to appreciate the little heartburn at finding that the combination of circumstances had left her at the critical moment to be accorded a strength in capital ships but little more than half that of Japan. Those five dreadnoughts, completed instead of scrapped, would have spelled substantial equality.

The Hughes proposal, however, was not based on national needs nor on national aspirations. It was based on the hard logic of existing facts. If naval armaments were to be limited, the time to begin was now. If the expensive competition was to be maintained, those now in the lead were in position not only to maintain but to increase the ratio. It was to this argument, frankly stated, that France yielded on the question of capital ships.

As a corollary, however, the Hughes programme proposed that the ratio for capital ships, once fixed, should run through all forms of naval craft, including light cruisers and submarines. It is to this limitation that France has refused to assent, reserving the right to build the same 90,000 tons of submarines as that fixed for the United States and Great Britain, together with 330,000 tons of light cruisers and destroyers, as against the 450,000 tons of the leading Powers. Although M. Sarraut stated explicitly that France would observe these limits without regard to the action of the other Powers as to these types, this has been generally referred to in the American press as France's demand for "unlimited submarine tonnage."

It will be observed at the outset that the same arguments which prevailed as to capital ships were not applicable to cruisers and submarines. Nobody proposed to take an immediate naval holiday as to these. On the contrary, the United States would probably start immediately, and could keep busy many years, building its inadequate cruiser force up to its quota. Capital ships are built to fight capital ships, and there is no appreciable difference whether you have twenty against your opponent's ten or have ten against his five. Submarines are not built to fight submarines. For fighting capital ships and cruisers

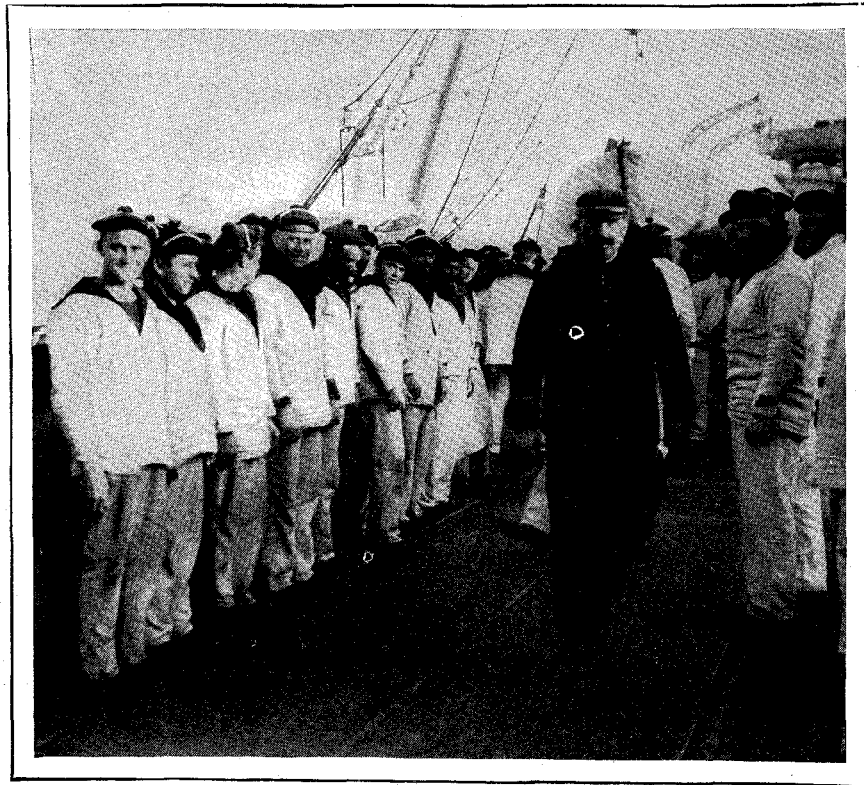
and for preventing close blockade of your own ports there is a vast difference between having twenty submarines and having fifty, which is not at all affected by an increase of your opponent's submarines in the same ratio. Moreover, unless there is some inherent reason why those Powers which through a superiority of capital ships have practical command of the sea should also have undisputed command, it would seem that a proper system of checks and balances should rather encourage the use of defensive arms by the weaker naval Powers.

Although the discussion has been largely colored by the unpopularity of the submarine and by British insistence that it is impossible to use it effectively in a proper manner, it must be conceded that the submarine is a legitimate defensive weapon. This was settled by the Conference against the contention of Great Britain, so that it must be considered as part of the hypothesis on which the action of France was based. Any discussion based upon the premise that the submarine is necessarily a barbarous and piratical weapon is not directed against France alone, but would prove the United States, Japan, and Italy equally guilty in refusing to abolish it. It is not fair to take the British arguments on this point and direct them against France alone because she has insisted on having the same number as the United States.

Equally unfair is the focusing against France of the argument that under the stress of war, in spite of the Root limitations, she will repeat the crime of Germany. Asking only to possess the same tonnage of submarines as that allotted to any other nation, why should France be called upon to refer to her untarnished record of honor? If, again, there is something in the submarine to tempt the possessor into violation of international law, that fact should have been weighed in determining whether there should be any submarines.

To tell the truth, if the next European war is not fought upon honor, or under fear of overwhelming reprisals on those who would violate honor, any ravages by submarines will sink into insignificance beside the hell which the development of chemical warfare has placed within reach of the unscrupulous. To make the point that a nation will outlaw itself by the illegal use of one particular weapon, the submarine, is again to direct public opinion toward a particular point for a particular object.

The airplane, with its load of poisonous chemicals, is a weapon potentially capable of far more barbarity than the submarine. Not only is it impracticable to limit it, which we may concede, but the sea Powers are planning to build airplane carriers to carry it to the utmost ends of the earth. We hear no hue and cry about its possible misuse. The airplane itself, with its limited radius of action, is primarily a defensive weapon, giving added security from in-



Paul Thompson

## INSPECTION ON BOARD A FRENCH CRUISER

vasion. The airplane carrier makes it an offensive weapon, carrying its power to the coasts of the enemy. We hear no suggestion of scrapping existing carriers, but, instead, the authorization of expensive building programmes of 27,000-ton ships. These vessels are going to cost not less than \$20,000,000 apiece, but no resolutions have been introduced in Congress asking Great Britain to pay her war debt before embarking on the construction of her allotment of five. All of which indicates that it makes a difference whose ox is being gored.

France is the second colonial Power of the world. Sixty million people live in her possessions. Against a superiority in battleships the only colony with which she could hope to maintain communication and from which she could transport men and supplies would be Algeria, and that only by rendering the narrow seas untenable with submarines. Across the broad oceans, as demonstrated by the last as well as every other war, reliable communication is possible only to the Power whose cruisers are backed by capital ships competent to seize and hold the strategic positions and ready to stand and fight.

We do not hear so much of France's insistence on 330,000 tons of light cruisers and destroyers. The weapons themselves not being unpopular, there is not so much chance to work up public feeling. The principle, however, is the same. The fact that France is sincere in classing these with submarines as the proper defensive arms of a weaker Power is shown by her acceptance of the reduced ratio as applicable to airplane

carriers, which in speed, tonnage, and offensive power are akin to capital ships.

Neither light cruisers nor submarines when opposed by like forces backed by battleships can keep open long lines of communication for men and supplies, nor carry real war to the coasts of the enemy. With capital ships and airplane carriers a naval Power can do both. The nation which concedes this power to another may fairly ask some consideration in return.

Sea power is for the time being in the hands of the three nations which are separated by water from practically all possible enemies. Of the Continental Powers, Germany, Russia, and Austria have been eliminated and France and Italy have become the leading land Powers at the expense of their naval strength. The overseas Powers, if Great Britain, Japan, and the United States may be so called, not only need sea power most, but, with no vulnerable land frontiers, can afford it best. Their peoples have shown a determination to keep it, even at excessive cost. To avoid ruinous competition, with consequent misunderstandings or worse, the Conference was called. It was never proposed nor expected that their sea power was to be surrendered, any more than it was proposed that the land power of France be surrendered. Nevertheless they do not want to seem to be creating a permanent aristocracy of naval Powers to hold supremacy of the seas, and the best way to avoid the imputation would be a considerate regard for the defensive strength of the Continental Powers.



PANORAMIC VIEW OF THE PHILADELPHIA DELAWARE RIVER FRONT AT ABOUT THE TIME OF KIPLING'S STORY

The steeple in the middle of the picture is that of Christ Church (the church of Washington and Franklin), on North Second Street, near Toby Hirte's lodgings. The presence of the steamboat in this picture, printed at the end of the eighteenth century, is accounted for by the fact that John Fitch began to operate steamships on the Delaware in 1788. The approaches of the new bridge across the Delaware, with the longest span in the United States (1,750 feet), will pass directly by the site of Toby Hirte's house.

## KIPLING IN PHILADELPHIA

BY FULLERTON WALDO

**I**N The Outlook's "By the Way" column for December 14, 1921, I find: "Another successful author, the 'Writer' says, once vainly tried to sell some of his best East Indian tales for \$50 apiece. Now he can command \$5,000 for the American rights of a short story. Needless to say, this is Rudyard Kipling."

The statement about the East Indian tales is entirely accurate. There was a time when Kipling on his way home from India would have been glad to get the indicated price, and peddled his wares in vain in Philadelphia. (About that time Philadelphia could have bought Whistler's portrait of his mother for its Academy of the Fine Arts for \$500 and boggled at the sum.)

In Kipling's "Rewards and Fairies" are two Philadelphia stories. Between them is a poem called "Philadelphia," and two of its lines are:

Toby Hirte can't be seen at One Hundred and Eighteen  
North Second Street—no matter  
when you call.

I took up the challenge. Putting the volume in my pocket, I went to 118 North Second Street. I found there the modern brick building of a paper and twine factory. An Irishman was unloading rolls of paper from a dray. I accosted him and read him the lines.

He jerked his thumb toward the interior of the shop, and there I found three partners, arms and cigars akimbo, discussing the falling price of paper.

Into their cold-sober discussion I thrust my "Rewards and Fairies." They sent me to the owner of the building, who had title deeds of the neighborhood that went back to the time of Penn. From him I learned that in 1794 (the time of the story) the number 118 was on the other side of Race Street—which figures in the tale as the place where gentlemen tried out their trotting horses.

And in the Philadelphia Directory for 1795 I found the two characters of Kipling's story—Conrad Gerhart and Tobias Hirte, the latter set down as "Seneca Oil Merchant and traveling Apothecary," just as in the story.

I wondered how Kipling came upon these old-timers. I sought out Joseph Rogers, of the Philadelphia "Inquirer," and he told me what follows.

In the spring of 1890 a young man unknown to fame, Joseph Rudyard Kipling, crossing the States on his way back from the Orient to England, stopped off in Philadelphia, and as he strolled about the town drifted into the "Inquirer" office. He met Editor Rogers.

"I have here ten stories," said the young Anglo-Indian, diffidently. "You may have them for fifty dollars apiece."

"We're not in the market for fiction," replied Mr. Rogers. "Better try the McClure syndicate."

"Thanks very much," said Kipling, stuffing the immortal stories back into his pocket. "I'm fond of newspapers. I was on one in India at Lahore. Mind if I look about your shop a bit?"

"Certainly not," said Rogers, and resumed his writing, while Kipling made the tour of the mechanical departments. On his return from the composing-room Kipling politely inquired, "Is there any one you know who could show me the town?"

Rogers got Harry McIntyre, a *bon vivant* of the day, to take the visitor about. Kipling cared little for Independence Hall or Christ Church or the things sought out most eagerly by pilgrims. But he waxed enthusiastic over every place where sailors congregated on the Delaware water-front—notably the Mariners' Bethel, where he came upon East Indians, and a ship in whose crew there were eighteen nationalities.

When he came back to the office, he covered six or seven foolscap sheets with a description of "things to see in Japan" for Mr. Rogers, who planned a visit to that country. That manuscript went up in smoke six years later, when part of the editor's house was burned.

When Kipling's "Rewards and Fairies" was published, Abram R. Beck, of Lancaster County (uncle of our present Solicitor-General, James M. Beck), wrote Kipling to tell him of Toby Hirte's summer trips to Lancaster County and Hirte's orchestra, which played worldly selections that greatly disturbed the pious Moravians. The author wrote Mr. Beck an appreciative acknowledgment.

Kipling had upturned many of his data about the Moravians in Abraham

Ritter's "Moravian Church in Philadelphia." A grand-nephew of the latter sent me a letter describing a visit to Toby Hirte's shop, when one of the Ritter brothers pulled out of a glass jar what he thought was a pear, and sucked at it, only to find himself presently tugging at the tail of a preserved mouse, instead of the stem of the fruit.

This letter said: "Mr. Hirte's room was in the second story of Mr. Conrad

Gerhard's house, second door from the northwest corner of Second and Race Streets."

And so at last I had traced the elusive Toby to his lair.

I sent the story of the hunt to Mr. Kipling, who wrote me: "Thank you very much for your note and the cuttings, and especially for that most interesting letter from Lebanon by Tobias Hirte. It is always a pleasure to me to

hear more of the history of my friend, and it is right for your city's sake that he should be remembered."

Those who visit Philadelphia for the coming Sesquicentennial in 1926 will find that, as Kipling says in telling Toby's story:

The things that truly last when men  
and times have passed,  
They are all in Pennsylvania this  
morning!

## A FIGHT FOR A FREE PULPIT

### A NARRATIVE OF PERSONAL EXPERIENCE

#### BY AN EPISCOPAL CLERGYMAN

**W**HEN I came to my present parish, I found a church of the type almost universal twenty-five years before, and still flourishing too widely. There was splendid music at the services and an atmosphere of peaceful enjoyment. It was, as many of the congregation delighted to say, "a nice little family church." The "old-fashioned Gospel" was preached, and lived up to pretty well, I take it, by the congregation.

In the meantime a great city, for years tight in the clutches of a crooked political gang notorious throughout America, fostered evil in all its ugly phases, and, through its better citizens, cried aloud for emancipation. Slowly social workers began to take up their tasks of guidance and healing. And now and again they turned to the churches for help, too often in vain.

What would Jesus have said to these contented people called by his name?

I tried to tell them, as best I could, what I thought he would have said. I pointed out the concrete needs of those at their doors. I found that many of the congregation knew nothing of the social movements of the day, and cared less. When I used the word "social," they thought I was talking either about people who figured in the society columns or about Socialism.

Many of those who did understand were not slow to register their disapproval of such sermons as I preached which treated of social justice. The wife of the president of the street railway company left the parish in indignation, complaining that in a sermon I had sided with the strikers in a recent walk-out on their lines when her life and her husband's life were in danger, and that "I might just as well have mentioned her husband by name as to say what I did say." As a matter of fact, while my sympathies were entirely with the strikers, as were those of the city at large, the citizens of which were walking to work to help "the cause," I had made no mention of the strike in the pulpit. I had, instead, preached a general sermon on the cause of labor.

But there was another point of contention in the parish besides the ser-

mons. It had seemed to me that there was no movement giving more promise of being helpful toward democracy than the open forum movement spreading rapidly throughout America. So we inaugurated in the parish house on Sunday nights an open forum. We announced a list of speakers representing a large range of social problems. From the first the meetings seemed to meet a real need in the city. Men and women of all creeds, and none, listened to various speakers with whom they agreed or disagreed, got excited and calmed down, and stayed to mingle with one another and get acquainted. Social workers were grateful for the opportunity to promote social education.

The friendly feeling among those who attended was illustrated by two young Russian Jews who came to me one Sunday night and said: "We want to tell you that we feel more at home here than anywhere else in this city."

But the attitude of the majority of our own parishioners was different. Most of them stayed away—which has been the experience, apparently, of other churches which have introduced forums. I was impressed with the fact that few members of the vestry came.

One Monday morning, after we had had a plea for Socialism by one of the leading Socialists of the city, a wealthy member of the vestry went to his fellow-members flourishing a clipping from a paper which had carried a report of the meeting. "This is what we are coming to," he cried; "Socialism."

However, there seemed to be no organized opposition to the things we were trying to accomplish. So I thought. But I was made to realize that the ground for optimism was somewhat sandy.

One evening a vestryman who was a staunch believer in our newer policies telephoned to me. "You may be interested to know," he said, "that there has been a secret meeting of your vestry. You are to be asked to get out quietly."

I at once decided on a course of action. The congregation had a right to know that their vestry had departed from the church's custom of holding vestry meetings with the rector presiding. They had a right to know of the secret meeting,

and of what their vestry had decided to do. I was sure that the majority would sanction neither the method nor the decision.

On the following Sunday, therefore, I tried to sum up in my sermon what I had been trying to teach since I had been in the parish, and what my ideals for the parish had been concerning the point at issue, social Christianity. I tried to express in my own words what is the conviction of hundreds of men in our pulpits to-day. In closing, I said:

"There is a momentous conflict going on in the Church. It is going on in this parish and in many others. It is the conflict between the so-called 'old-fashioned Gospel' and the so-called 'social Gospel.' The first was long supposed to represent exclusively the teaching of Jesus. The second, which includes what was true in the first, has impressed itself upon us, after many years of patient investigation of the records by scholars, as a more exact interpretation of the teaching and life of the Master. The old had to do with the salvation of the individual. The new has to do also with the salvation of society. The cause of Jesus Christ stands at the crossroads. I believe that the issue is to be decided in favor of the Christianity which, we now know, Jesus preached. In spite of two thousand years of a Church often misunderstanding its own mission, a Church too often misinterpreting the words of the Master—in spite of this, Christianity is coming into its own. This 'new Christianity' is not the kind of religion on which we have been reared. Neither is it the kind to leave us contented and soothed. It is the kind that strikes at the very root of many of our social relationships. The Christianity which is going to conquer the world is the Christianity for which Jesus died—the Christianity that dares to believe in the universal Fatherhood of God and in the universal brotherhood of man, with all that such belief implies. And that is the kind of religion for which this parish should stand."

At the close of the sermon I briefly presented some of the facts having to do with my relationship with the vestry since I had been in the parish. I spoke

of the contract which I had made with that body when I accepted the call, a contract which definitely and somewhat elaborately stated that I should have "complete freedom in the pulpit," and, furthermore, that the vestry would support "every attempt on the part of the rector to extend the kingdom of God in this community." I spoke also of the secret meeting. "You have a right," I said, "to be honestly represented by your vestry. If you agree with me, you should elect, at the annual meeting two weeks from to-morrow night, a group of men who will represent your ideals of freedom, and who will abide by their contracts. I am quite willing to abide by your decision as expressed at that meeting."

It would be difficult to exaggerate the effect of the revelation. Men who do things in secret in the church dislike, as elsewhere, to have their actions dragged into the daylight. Vestrymen and their wives passed me in the vestibule after service without the usual greetings. Little groups gathered in the nave to indulge in whispered conversations.

Two days later the wife of one of the vestrymen came to see me. She was at a loss to understand "how I could have insulted the members of my vestry right in church, publicly, where they had no chance to talk back!"

"No vestry could ever have been more loyal to their rector than your vestry has been to you," she concluded. "But I came to tell you that if you and your followers succeed in electing a vestry that will support you and your policies, my husband and I will leave the church."

Such was the brand of the vestry's "loyalty"!

Four days before the annual parish meeting a final session of the vestry was called which was not secret. I was urged to attend. And it was an interesting evening. As the vestrymen came in there were no greetings between us. One or two painfully shook hands with me; a few mumbled some words; most of the men sat down in silent dignity.

An attorney, a member of the vestry, acted as spokesman. His fellow-vestrymen sat in gloomy silence as he expressed their common amazement at the "impropriety of a minister of the Gospel" in saying what I had said "from the chancel." Several times the speaker insisted that I had said certain things that Sunday which I did not say. I replied each time: "I made no such statement. Here is a copy of all that I said as reported by a court stenographer."

"I don't care what your copy says," replied the lawyer. "We know what you said."

After an extended presentation of "the mind of the vestry" we reached the astonishing proposition, which was stated as follows by the lawyer: "We want to be perfectly fair about this matter. If you will resign, your resignation to take effect the last day of this month, we will make you a present of three months' salary."

It was suggested that the matter be put in the form of a resolution. One after the other the vestrymen voted "Aye" on that resolution until nine had so registered their will (but one so voted with the qualifying statement that he would remain and support me if I stayed in the parish). It was the tenth alone, another lawyer, the man who had told me of the secret meeting, who voted "No."

"Now, sir," said the "prosecuting attorney," "you must see that you have made a bad situation by your impulsive statement from the chancel. We had no idea of making a public matter of this thing. We were coming to you quietly in a few weeks, as gentlemen, to tell you of our action."

I wondered why he wasn't frank enough to add "to make our offer." But when pulpits are to be bought and sold there are some phrases recognized by the tradesmen, apparently, as not in good taste.

To the question asking "for the last time" whether I would resign, I replied by saying that I had left the matter in the hands of the congregation, and would, as I had stated, abide by their decision, to be reached at the annual meeting.

"What will you gain by staying?" the lawyer asked. "Don't you see that you will injure your whole future in the ministry? Don't you see that you will split the church? You won't gain anything by trying to follow 'The Inside of the Cup.' The author of that book didn't give any solution for the problem of the church that tries to be modern."

I hadn't thought of "The Inside of the Cup" as having any bearing on our problem. But I began to wonder whether Mr. Churchill hadn't hit many an Episcopal vestryman harder than he knew.

The annual meeting, a few nights later, proved to be an event entirely unique to every one who came. Even the reporters of the morning papers found here a "story" that moved them out of their usual nonchalance towards church affairs. From my vantage-point as chairman—a position imposed upon me by the canons of the Church—I saw that the tradition of perfunctory annual meetings with few attending had been broken. Every seat in the parish house was filled.

After an hour of routine business, the attorney for the prosecution took his place beside my chair. It was nine o'clock. I mention the time because it was fifteen minutes of eleven when he sat down!

As he was closing a woman in the front row jumped to her feet. No longer able to repress her amazement at the remarkable address, she cried out: "But, sir, what is it you have against the rector?" The effect was magic. Out of the tension a ripple of laughter spread over the gathering. The attorney, vainly struggling to regain his composure, sat down. His attempt to defend the secret action of the vestry by maligning the rector on petty issues had succeeded

only in making votes for a progressive policy.

During the next fifteen minutes the vestryman who had voted a solitary "No" on the resolution asking for my resignation presented the other side of the case. Then the voting began.

What is ordinarily a perfunctory proceeding was now a thing surcharged with feverish tension. Voters were scanned by the members of the old vestry. Two or three were challenged. I appointed two tellers who, I knew, were quite honest and impartial gentlemen. However, I gave the old vestry an opportunity of appointing two more, if they so desired—an opportunity which was seized with amusing speed.

The counting of the ballots meant a painful wait. Some time after midnight the reporters began to worry over the probability of "not making the last edition." "Why didn't some one hit that lawyer?" one of them asked, his patience gone. "He talked two hours without saying anything."

The people were growing tired. Here and there heads were nodding wearily, but only a few had left.

It was one o'clock when the tellers returned with their report. No jury ever filed into a court-room amid greater suspense. One of the tellers began writing the names of the vestry candidates on a blackboard, with the number of votes each had received. People stood on their toes and in chairs, craning their necks to see the result. When it was discovered that a new vestry had been elected which would support a forward-looking programme for the parish, there was profound quiet.

Suddenly the voice of the old senior warden broke the stillness. "I intend to protest this election," he cried, his throat rasping.

But most of us were feeling, I think, that an inspiring victory had been won for the freedom of the pulpit and the social Gospel.

What has been the result to date?

We have a vestry of men who know that the Christian Church to-day has a task on its hands that is exhilarating in its complexity, who believe that Jesus came preaching the kingdom, and that the Church rests under a fundamental obligation to spread the spirit of that kingdom in its community and throughout the world; that wherever there is a need that the Church can meet there rests upon the Church an obligation to meet that need; that the pulpit should be free, and that no layman or group of laymen, moneyed or otherwise, should be allowed to muzzle it; that the Church should express the spirit of democracy in its purest form; who believe, therefore, that the Church is for the workingman as well as for the capitalist; that it is better for a church to suffer from want of money than for want of the spirit of Jesus; who believe, with Rauschenbusch, that the Church should lose its life, if need be, to save it.

The supporters of the old vestry left the parish and withdrew their financial

support, amounting to two-thirds of the annual budget. But their announced hope of "starving out the rector" has not been realized. Instead there is a congregation of devoted people showing a wholesome growth—people who believe in the ideals noted above, and who are willing to work for those ideals.

Out of my experience here set down I have come to believe more staunchly than ever before, not only that the freedom of the pulpit, with all that the phrase connotes in the way of parish activities, ought to be maintained at all cost, but that it can be maintained. The necessity of fostering this high end has never in the history of the Christian Church

been more pressing than at this present moment of transition from the "save-me-from-hell" Gospel to the Gospel of the kingdom as preached by Jesus. Social justice does not sum up the whole Gospel, but surely the failure of individualism to issue in just social relationships has come close to wrecking the propaganda of the Christian Church, and in the minds of multitudes has already made the Church worthy only of the scrap-heap.

A man who stands firmly for the truth will win the support of every man and woman who is open-minded. For years I have been convinced that too many men in our churches gave up just

at the time when they should have begun to fight. Often surrender is caused by fear, I think, of "hurting people's feelings." As I have read the life of Jesus I have never seen that he harbored any similar fear. There was nothing "soft" about his kind of Christianity. Perfectly tender and ever considerate, he was none the less totally lacking in that sentimentality which fears to speak the truth for the people's good, even on occasions when he was the dinner guest of those people. If his Church is to live to-day, its pulpits must be manned by men who speak the truth though it wound, temporarily, those who have shown them every personal kindness.

## SIDE-LIGHTS ON THE MAYOR'S JOB

BY GEORGE S. BUCK

FORMERLY MAYOR OF THE CITY OF BUFFALO

"UNEASY lies the head that wears a crown" applies with just as much force to the mayor of a big city to-day as it did to the sovereign when royalty was a going concern. Of course the public has in rough outline an appreciation of the problems confronting a mayor charged with the duty of preserving law and order in a great municipality. There are, however, certain phases in the meeting of the mayor's responsibilities of which the public can have no idea, and there are some experiences of a personal character which are amusing, and it is with the hope that these features of a term of office may prove of interest to the reader that I venture upon this brief sketch.

The first shock which comes to a man after he is elected mayor of a large city is to discover that whatever he does or says has publicity value and his privacy is gone. The reporters watch his office door as a cat watches a mouse-hole. If a person of any importance in the community comes to see him, the caller no sooner leaves than the representatives of the press at once appear, asking what the visitor and what the mayor said, and then insist that the public demands to know immediately what the mayor is going to do about it.

As soon as the votes were counted in the mayoralty election my home phone began to ring incessantly, and this kept up day after day. By actual count, during the late afternoon and evening a call came in every four minutes. Some relief was secured by omitting my name from the next edition of the telephone directory, but before that was done people called up on all kinds of subjects. For instance, the winter of 1917-18 was an extremely cold one. Even the garbage froze in the containers, so that the work of the collectors was hard. I was summoned from a Sunday dinner to listen to a man who said that he had

bought a brand-new garbage-can for \$3.50; that the collectors had just been through his street and that now his can was all full of dents. He added, "I wish you would come out and look at it." I told him the work of collecting garbage was under the jurisdiction of the Commissioner of Public Works and that he should telephone him about it. He replied: "I *did* call him up, but from his language I infer that he does not care what happens to my garbage-can."

The hardest task before the successful candidate is to keep the right perspective, because so many people will actually or metaphorically pat him on the back and tell him what a wonderful man he is. It requires real self-control not to swell up with pride under the shower of commendation. A new mayor is certain to be the recipient of complimentary letters which may have every appearance of good faith and may be perfectly sincere, but a little searching of the office files will help lessen his pride when he discovers that in many instances the same people have been writing the same kind of letter to every preceding mayor.

No doubt most people believe that the two campaigns necessary under the direct primary, with the long weeks of working at high pressure day and night, are the hardest part of public life. That is not the case. During the campaign a man's friends are about him, offering advice and encouragement, defending him from attacks, and giving him all the inspiration and help that come from cordial fellowship; but they cannot keep this up. The day comes when they must be absorbed again in their usual affairs. The mayor is left alone with his tasks, with his responsibilities, and with the pledges of service to the public which he has made. Then there arrive on the scene the seekers of special privileges, those who have something to gain as a result of decisions that are made in the

conduct of the public business or in the framing of policies that are to be pursued in the administration of public departments. The mayor must make his decisions. The friends who are not close enough to know the facts sit back at home and begin to wonder at the course that their candidate is taking now that he is in office, and some of those friends will soon join the ranks of active critics. The people seem far away and indifferent. Edward Bok in his autobiography remarks that as a young man he believed that at the top there must be keen competition, but he found when he reached the top that it was a lonely place. The mayor, as the first citizen of the municipality, has an opportunity to learn that this is true. It is passing through this lonely period that tries a man's soul. It is then that he must keep a stout heart and hold steadily before his eyes the ideals and principles for which he stands; otherwise he will lose courage, yield to the pressure to which he is subject, and make those mistakes which will forever mar his administration. If he be a candidate for re-election, the situation changes when the time for the campaign draws near; friends again rally about him and the loneliness is gone.

The mayor of a great city sees an unending tide of humanity flowing through his office. He learns the characteristics of each race. While all citizens are Americans and it may be impossible from looking at individuals to tell their racial origin, still they possess certain characteristics which attach to their ancestral blood and which must be reckoned with in the problems of administration. Some of these traits are very conspicuous. For example, the Irishman is the best backer any person can have who is a candidate for appointment to a public office. He never will admit that his friend has a fault of any kind. His quick Celtic wit always de-



(C) Brown Bros.

THE CITY HALL OF BUFFALO, WHERE MAYOR BUCK SERVED FOR FOUR YEARS

vises a good reason for any move which his friend may have made which would seem likely to mar his chances for success, and the greater the opposition his friend must meet, the higher rise the combative qualities of the Irishman.

There are many racial traits that are conspicuous for their excellence, as the steadiness and loyalty of the German, the generosity of the Scotchman when he believes in a cause, and the courtesy and responsiveness of the Italian. Above all is the earnest desire of every race to become Americans and to be treated and recognized as such. No mayor who has the opportunity of dealing with many representatives of the various races making up a cosmopolitan city can have any real fear of the ultimate solution of the Americanization problem. The public schools plus the desire of the people themselves to be identified in all ways with this country are an assurance that the Americanization problem will care for itself in due time. One incident will serve to illustrate this point.

Buffalo's School Board proposed a very ambitious programme of school construction. It seemed to me that opposition would be certain unless the press had the situation thoroughly explained to its representatives. I therefore invited to my office the managing editors of all the daily papers, among whom were two from the Polish daily papers. There are in the Polish section of the city many parochial schools, and it seemed to me likely that there might be opposition to this school programme from that locality. When the plan was laid before the managing editors of the press, the two men who spoke up first in favor of the programme and who were most emphatic in their support were the editors of the two papers published in the Polish language.

The mayor is sufficiently conspicuous to attract the attention of all the "nuts" in the community. These people in ninety-nine cases out of one hundred are perfectly harmless. In some ways they are amusing, and always they are pathetic because of their inability to keep up with the necessity of making a living. In appearance they are almost always shabby; and indeed it is hard that those who are not mentally equipped to take a part in the battle of life must suffer not only from their mental infirmity but also from the hardship due to their inability to earn enough to care for themselves properly.

On the morning of the Fourth of July, 1918, I was alone in my office and a man came in with a suit-case. I expected no visitors on that day, and the police officer usually on guard to weed out the "nuts" was enjoying the holiday. My visitor indicated that he was deaf and dumb, so I provided a pad, on which he wrote that he had invented an infernal machine to blow up the Germans. This he had in his suit-case, and he deposited it alongside of where I was sitting. He wrote that he wanted to sell the machine to the United States Government for \$75,000,000, of which he was willing to donate \$37,500,000 to the Red Cross. He wanted me to help him sell it to the Government. I wrote on the pad that he needed a lawyer to assist him and that none were in their offices on the Fourth of July, but that if he would come back the next day I would see that he was put in touch with some one who would give him the necessary help. He went away perfectly satisfied and took the suit-case with him. The next day the regular office force were on duty, and I never saw him again.

On one occasion a captain in the Fire Department was seeking appointment to the position of battalion chief. He was

an unusually well educated man and stood first on the eligible list. I sent for him and talked with him. It seemed to me that he was not quite right mentally and ought not to be trusted with the increased responsibility of a higher office. Therefore I did not appoint him. In a month's time he was a raving maniac and almost killed an attendant at the State Hospital, to which he had been committed. He is a type of the kind of individual who sometimes takes it into his head that the appointing official is an obstacle to his promotion and should be removed by a bullet. It was by such a man that the late Mayor Gaynor, of New York, was shot.

In the early summer of 1919 a bomb was exploded on the porch of the Attorney-General's residence in Washington, the Mayor's house in Cleveland was blown in, and threats against officials throughout the country were made in a broadcast way. For a time the police deemed it necessary to guard my house, as I had received a number of threatening letters. I have a friend who used to pay me a visit every few months as his business called him back and forth across the continent. While my house was under guard he came to see me. The family were not in. He wanted to leave his grip, which the detective who was on guard allowed him to do, but first insisted on searching his satchel for bombs. My friend is a very cautious man. This occurred two and a half years ago, and I have not seen him since. As a careful man he doubtless thought it wise to stay away from me while I continued to be Mayor.

A number of Black Hand letters have been sent to me to which I have paid no attention, because any one familiar with police business knows that the Black Hand never attacks officials, but confines its operations almost exclusively to Italians of a certain class. Nevertheless, as my wife insists on examining all mail that comes to the house, such letters have been a source of annoyance to the family circle, and to escape from things of this kind is one of the satisfactions of leaving a conspicuous public office. There is also a kind of exhilaration due to the lifting of the burden of responsibility, which makes one feel something like a boy out of school; so that, as far as the personal feelings of a defeated candidate for re-election as mayor are concerned, no one need waste on him the slightest sympathy. Some one may ask, "Why did he consent to run?" The truth is that, once in politics, one is carried along by the tide of events. A man's friends will say to him, "We stood by you, now you must stand by us." Or he may personify a certain cause, and for its sake he cannot retire. He must lead. So that the one way in which a man can leave the mayoralty without explanations to his friends and apologies to the supporters of the type of administration for which he stands is to be let out by the people.

# WHEN TOWN AND COUNTRY MEET HALF-WAY

BY ROSS B. JOHNSTON

DANIEL BOONE felt crowded when other settlers moved into the Kentucky woods fifty miles or so away. He whistled for his hunting dogs, threw some corn meal, a handful of salt, and a few strips of jerked meat into a deerskin sack, and went on deeper into the wilderness. He said he "wanted more elbow room."

Nevertheless such woods hermits must have been few in number, judging from the numerous villages that sprang up at crossroads and ferries, as the pioneers slowly migrated west from the coast settlements. Even in those early days the man who lived alone by preference was uncommon. The great majority of settlers were in groups. The church, the school, the mill, the store, were likely to form the nucleus for a little cluster of log-cabin homes. These became social groups as well as units for defense against the Indians.

Americans have almost totally disregarded this evidence from the early history of their own country, supported as it is by the history of Europe for thousands of years. In considering the rural problems, most investigators have considered the American farmer a recluse, like Kipling's cat that "sat by himself." All our literature, in fact, has treated him as an individual. The whole "back to the farm" movement has been along this same line. Students of rural life in general and the whole host of reformers have almost universally had the open-country point of view, which has come to be considered the American point of view.

But is this view-point correctly taken?

The rural school problem is being solved by the special cases of consolidation, usually in villages, and in the graded and high schools in the villages much more frequently than in the open country. Two-thirds of the rural churches are already in villages, where they are likely to be a community force. It is largely in the villages that church consolidation has been brought about. The stores, the banks, hospitals, motion-picture houses, club-houses, fairs, and so on are giving a stronger and stronger impetus to village development. The village has been the natural center of leadership along educational, religious, professional, and other lines.

The second and much larger unit, the county, must be considered at the same time. The county is the ideal unit for legislative and administrative purposes. Many States are advocating the abolition of independent school districts, making the county the unit of school administration. The county hospital has been urged as the best solution of the health problem. The question of charities and corrections has been solved most satisfactorily on the county unit basis. Transportation, which is



SENATOR ARTHUR CAPPER

The aims of that group of Senators called the "Agricultural Bloc" are clearly set forth in an article by the junior Senator of Kansas, which will appear in next week's issue of *The Outlook*. Senator Capper's close contact with the agricultural problems of the West, his long experience as a journalist, and his record in the Senate supply triple assurance of the accuracy and authoritativeness of his exposition of this important movement

perhaps the keynote of the whole rural problem, is a matter of at least county-wide consideration. Quite evidently the natural administrative unit into which the small communities shall merge is the county or the parish, its equivalent in some States.

The farm bureau, generally formed by

the union of a number of local community clubs, is another type of county organization. It co-operates with State and Federal authorities in carrying on a county-wide programme of development in agriculture and home economics through educational demonstrations in co-operative marketing and other group activities.

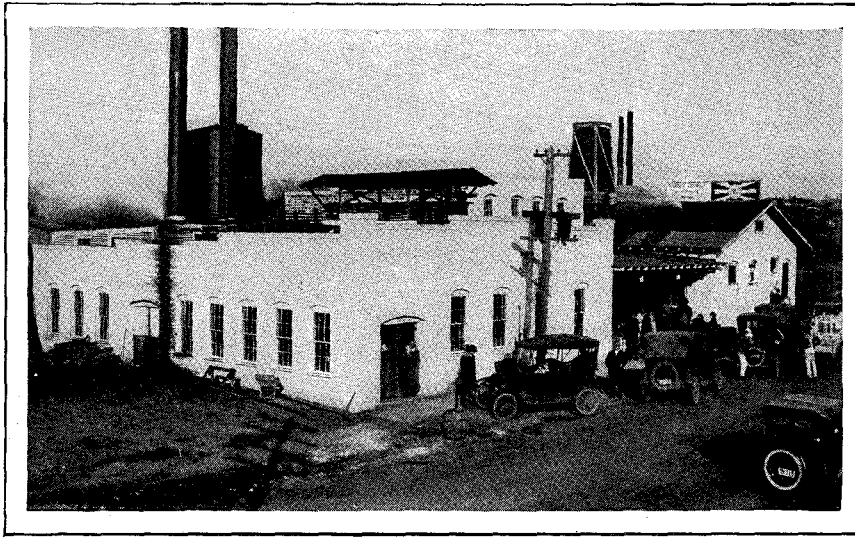
If the village and the county are playing this part in rural life to-day, there is certainly no question that the trend of American rural life is toward group organization, or exactly opposite to the open-country idea, which considers largely the lone farmer and the individual farm family. And, indeed, that is what was shown by the mass of testimony brought before the American Country Life Association at its New Orleans Conference by such authorities as Dr. C. J. Galpin, Professor W. L. Bailey, Professor John M. Gillette, Dr. A. C. True, Professor John A. Fairlie, Professor E. C. Lindeman, Dr. Ward S. Giltner, and others.

When the village is mentioned here, it is meant to indicate a village that is an integral part of the whole community. The village must be tributary to the farm, not the farm to the village. It is to be a sort of service station to the open country. Dr. Edmund de S. Brunner says, "It has a stake in the open country, and must change its attitude from one of exploitation to one of service."

Dean Bailey in his report on "The American Village" thus voices the common conviction that the village must receive more attention: "It is doubtless true that our agencies for agricultural improvement and rural welfare cannot go much farther until the village end of the situation is cared for."

He points out that the ideal American farming community of the future is to be a modified form of the European village, in which the farmers live, going forth daily to their farms, some distance away, but that it will be a community in which American ideals prevail.

"The villages should be local labor centers," says Bailey, "as they are elsewhere in Western civilization. There are many services, economic and social, which in the future they will doubtless extend to their districts, such as trucking, storage, light and power, fire protection, and so on. Local industry will doubtless be enlarged and provide a wider range of occupation and investment of capital; more suitable provision of housing for laborers and workmen, as well as for the lesser class of retiring farmers, is desirable. Their places of business, schools, churches, lodge halls, and their newspapers should be socializing influences, bringing farmer, business and professional man, and artisan (and their families) together, cultivating



CREAMERY AND CONDENSED MILK FACTORY AT MOULTRIE, GEORGIA, IN WHICH IS INVESTED THE MONEY OF BOTH FARMERS AND TOWNSFOLK

community consciousness, facilitating co-operation, and a sense of social responsibility and some measure of social control."

Yet there are well-defined points of difference between town and country people, which are recognized by such men as Professor Gillette. He says that the village and adjoining agricultural population are and ought to be a co-operative community. He sees the particular ground of co-operation in general culture and sociability matters, recreation or highway construction. But when purely economic affairs, such as marketing, finance, taxation, and the like, are considered, it is realized that there is a divergence of opinion that often drives a wedge between country and village population. For the sake of harmony, he urges urban leaders and citizens generally to concede the efforts of farmers to improve their economic status, instead of opposing every just movement and effort on their part to improve their condition.

The question of communication is one that is of the most vital importance in considering a county-wide rural problem, or of even Professor Bailey's plan for farmers to live in villages. How they would get to and from their farms would have to be arranged before the idea could even be tested out. It may mean more improved country roads, or it may mean other modes of transportation. It is a fairly well established fact that one of the advantages of the mail-order house over the local merchant is that when roads are bad the parcel post and the mail-order house bring many things to the very door of the farmer, so that he does not have to brave the storm and mud-bound roads.

The county hospital is the health remedy for the country, according to Dr. Giltner, who bluntly admits that the doctors can't be kept out in the country. In his report on health he says: "With the long years of training now required of our modern health students, we cannot expect them to locate in the small

country towns or rural districts while the inviting fields of the populous centers are beckoning to them, so that the rural condition in regard to medical service is going to be increasingly menacing unless county hospitals are provided, which means at a nominal cost or even free. Kansas has four such county hospitals in operation or in course of construction."

He strongly urges that the health programme of whatever nature be set up on a county or other geographic unit which will not separate town and country. Leadership in health matters must often be taken by the city, but after the demonstration is made, city people are not prompt to get rural leadership on their boards, which is the thing to be desired. Furthermore, the need for common health laws emphasizes the close relationship of town and country.

The farmer must have a market for his wares where he can exchange his products for pure foods and get reliable medicine when sick. His children, who go townward for school or work, must be safeguarded. Recreation must be healthful and moral. Just so the city must depend upon the country for much of its food. Pure water often depends upon the health conditions in the section from which it comes, etc.

There should be a health department with adequate public health nursing service, which would cover both town and country. There should be a county board of recreation, including the home demonstration agent, county agent, county school superintendent, county health board, Young Men's Christian Association, Young Women's Christian Association, Red Cross, etc., to plan proper recreation for town and country. The present tendency in health organization seems to be towards the combination of city and county health organizations, not only in the health programme but in health agencies working in the field, such as the Red Cross health centers.

Possibilities of still further improve-

ment in government through the same sort of combinations are seen by Professor Fairlie, who says: "For counties including large cities (over 100,000 population) the consolidated city and county government should be made possible."

Under the stimulation of Rotary Clubs, Kiwanis Clubs, and similar organizations, the middlemen in the towns are viewing in a larger way than formerly their obligation to render service as justification for their existence. At the same time, it was the consensus of opinion that the middlemen, especially retail merchants, have not yet fully realized their obligation to serve the public as an educational institution regarding marketing and standards of living. The middleman, the merchant, must think in terms of better marketing methods and better values to his customers, as well as profits.

The various communities discussed at New Orleans gave evidence that an active membership of farmers and business men in a county-wide organization makes for the most satisfying town and country relations.

In Alexandria, Louisiana, the Chamber of Commerce took the lead in getting the farmers organized into a parish-wide farm bureau association and in inducing them to diversify their crops, increase the size and number of their dairies, etc. A co-operative creamery was established. The Housewives' League worked for better marketing methods by promoting a curb market open three mornings a week.

Some years ago the people of the little town of Moultrie, Georgia, conceived the idea of furnishing markets for everything produced by the people of the adjacent country—perhaps a simple and old-fashioned idea, but one often forgotten or disregarded. The success of this plan is indicated by the fact that Moultrie grew from a town of 1,000 population in 1900 to a town of more than 10,000 in 1920, and the entire county population increased from 10,000 to 30,000. Moultrie has the largest packing-house in the South, the largest creamery and the only condensed-milk plant and public stockyards in Georgia. Working on the ideal plan of combined town and county development, Moultrie decided that the question of more business depended entirely upon human consideration. Neighborliness—the wiping out of the city limits and the extending of the same out to the county line on all four sides—is the keynote. Moultrie is convinced that its continued progress and prosperity are dependent upon the building up and enlarging of the surrounding country from the center of the town to the most distant farm in the county.

In fact, Moultrie and Colquitt County, Georgia, come about the nearest to indicating the possibilities of a town and county that have no dividing line between them, which is the ideal rural community of the future.

# PREMONITION

BY BERNICE LESBIA KENYON

THE colorless thin voices of the dark  
Grow fainter as the moon begins to rise,  
And like a scimitar the river lies  
Curving among pale trees with silvered bark.  
Here at this height we stand, whose lips contain  
Our vain protesting youth that stirs and cries  
Dumbly within us. Under widened skies  
Star-deep in silence, how should we complain?

The hours move slowly toward their shining end,  
Brimmed with broad moonlight and the damp of earth.  
We are but misers who are forced to spend  
Our heritage of time, and face long dearth  
Of wordless nights beneath moon-whitened trees,—  
In years to come, more desolate than these.

## WHAT'S THE MATTER?

AN ESSAY BY IRVING BACHELLER

### BEGINNING WITH THE FABLE OF THE INDIA-RUBBER PARENTS

ONCE upon a time I knew a dear young girl and her name was Notmary. She had two beautiful parents, and she used to say that if she had any more she would be crazy. They were obedient and honored their son and their daughter, and their days grew very long. Notmary's mother and father went with her regularly to the Chocolate Sundae School and the Movie Academy. She was never tardy or guilty of inattention. To her, life was ice-cream and Charlie Chaplin and Mary Pickford surrounded by chocolate and caramels. When the family was walking in the street, people would often turn and look at them and say, "What lovely parents Notmary has!" When they went with her to a neighbor's house, they sat quietly and did not interrupt the conversation of their youngsters. Indeed, people used to say that they would make their mark in the world—and they did, but it was all they made.

She brought them up in the fear of Altman and Tiffany and often gave them a few pennies to spend just as they pleased; and now and then, if they were very, very good, she would let them go to one of her weddings. By and by they became so soft and limber that people called them the India-Rubber Parents. And a day came when Notmary had outgrown them and saw that they were of no more account than a penny whistle, so she got a divorce from her father and mother and cast them into the dooryard. Later she was divorced from each of her many friends, and by and by the property, which had been left to her by the dear old gentleman who was her third husband, secured a separation on the ground that she had been associating with certain disreputable oil shares. Then her health left her in a heartless fashion

and it was said that she had even grown weary of her life and would welcome a decree.

The moral is obvious. A child must honor its father and mother or it will honor no one and speedily acquire the divorce habit.

There was a time, my friends, when the average American home was the wonder of the world because of its product. It was a humble home, and yet statesmen, poets, prophets, inventors, scholars, scientists, came out of it.

They had been made, too, at a small expense out of cheap material—good health, industry, humble environment. No patronage of wealth and influence, no decorations and coronets, had been employed. They had had no spur save an indefinite promise of public usefulness after years of struggle. The equal of that little plant the world had never seen. Its raw material was like the five loaves of the desert which fed a multitude. What was the secret of the old-time American home? I would say, first, organization. It had laws and a lawgiver. But the greater part of its secret lay in the instruction it gave to the young. It taught obedience, modesty, thrift, industry, the love of honor and of God.

I do not need to remind you that the old plant is out of order. It has been running down. Its product is inferior in quality and quantity. Youth no longer submits to the wisdom of age. For a year or more certain schools and colleges have been reeking with scandal. The dance has been tending toward the orgy in which the recklessness of the boy and girl has been outdone by that of the chaperon.

In most of the homes I know children do about as they please. There is no voice of authority. The young lady's

beauty is openly discussed by her mother in her presence.

"Well, mother," said the young daughter of a neighbor of mine, "if you do not want us to play bridge on Sunday, we'll go over to Thompson's. They'll stand for it."

"So," said the mother, "I let them play just to keep them at home, and they played until two in the morning."

What has become of the authority of the parent and the obedience of the child? A new situation has arisen, and its menace lies chiefly in the fact that many of us are disposed to make light of it. "Don't worry," they say; "it is a passing phase. Let us continue to eat, drink, and be merry."

We ought not deceive ourselves. Folly is not so easily disposed of. It does not vanish at the waving of your hand. It can hide itself like rats and breed faster.

In my youth a fool was a curiosity. There were three or four people in our village who were under suspicion. They were being watched. But there was only one man of proved capacity. He had been seen going down the street one day holding his hands before him, some three feet apart, and saying:

"Folks, git out of my way. This is the exact measure of a door, and I got to keep it till I git to the carpenter's shop."

We thought him an asset, but he grew in disgrace and folly until he started a fire in his dooryard on a windy day that nearly consumed the village. What a testimonial were those smoldering heaps of ashes!

It became apparent that one fool in a town is too many. Also it signalized the qualifications of a fool. He does not worry about consequences. Now as I look back upon the village, familiar with the story of forty years, I recognize that he was the most harmless fool

in its history. There were others who set the town afire. They started the hidden, creeping, inextinguishable fires that travel through generations of human life. They were the eminent, respected, intermittent, deliberate fools. What heaps of ashes lie along their pathway!

It is so much better to be a fool all the time—an out-and-out, reliable idiot—than one who is now and then knocking off, so to speak. We don't know where to place him. The certified fool is not so hard to get along with. The harm he can do, at most, is only physical. But when one of a trained, respectable intellect turns to folly he becomes the most dangerous individual that society has to deal with. He has influence.

It is folly which smooths and adorns the way to disaster. Not that I think it possible or even desirable that it should be put out of the world, but only that it should be looked after, for it is ever striving for greater freedom. Crime is comparatively a matter of slight importance. I remember once when a young fellow was convicted of a revolting crime a wise man said: "Bill is no longer important save as a lesson to you boys. He has shot his bolt. He has done about all the harm he can do. What is really worth knowing about Bill is the kind of folly which made him a criminal."

When a man turns rogue, we have got him placed. He is no longer a force in the community. His influence is gone. He may do more harm, but that will not be important.

So I beg to remind you that the great danger of society is not crime, but folly. It is that which produces crime. We are apt to laugh at folly as a temporary, trifling matter. It is nothing of the kind. It swiftly develops into a disease of which crime is only a symptom. We hear much complaint of burglars and highwaymen. They seem to be trying to establish a new industry. That is bad, but the thing to correct is the growing disrespect for law which has so increased their number. I suppose it is true that one honest, respected person can do more harm than half a dozen highwaymen.

Folly has become general, and even respectable. We are all having a good time with no thought of what is to come of it. That's what's the matter.

I was walking one delightful summer day with a wise friend. We had sat down on a fine natural terrace overlooking a valley which for years had been growing wild. Near where we sat, and visible through the tree columns, were the bent, broken, leaning walls of a ruined farmhouse. My friend filled his pipe and began talking.

"My grandfather used to live here," he said. "He had ten children. They grew up and scattered. One became a governor, one a congressman of great influence, one the mayor of a big city; one died on the battlefield of Gettysburg—a renowned hero. The girls were

a wonderful lot. There were four of them. Miranda had three distinguished sons. Isabel raised a boy who was a famous poet. Mary Ann had a daughter who became the wife of a President. The foundations for all that were laid under the torn and tumbling roof you see yonder. It was a home. These days we have many houses but few homes. That home had a master.

"Now, you know, a home is a kind of ship. It cannot stand still. It is ever moving in one direction or another; and on every side are perils. So it must have a master, and it must steer for some port. The ship must make headway. It must not drift. There are perils in the sea—reefs and icebergs and hurricanes. The main fact is that it must have a master who knows where he wants to go and about how to steer to get there. The port of wealth was not on my grandfather's chart. It never entered his reckoning. It was a little out of his course. I do not need to tell you what port he was steering for. I am sure that he arrived. If he was sick or away for a season, his wife knew how to steer the ship.

"What a home it was! Ten children, and not one servant! How often, now, we see ten servants and not one child! The ship was well organized. Every boy and girl had some share of the work to do. When the day ended, they gathered around the evening lamp for play or study, or to listen while some one read aloud. Immortal guests entered that humble home those winter nights—Dickens, Thackeray, Hawthorne, Holmes, Tennyson, Longfellow. I remember a night when I lay on the lounge and heard the story of Enoch Arden. It made an imperishable impression upon my mind—that picture of the lonely man standing in the darkness and peering in at his own windows while the 'cups and silver on the burnished board sparkled and shone.'

"The story was founded on the steadfast faithfulness of men and women and their capacity for self-immolation. I wonder if Enoch's wife would be waiting around these days, year after year, to learn of the fate of her husband.

"Since then what a change has come over the spirit of the young! I went to the old school down there in the valley one winter. There was an invisible bar between the boys and girls. The boys regarded the girls with a kind of awe. We were just a little afraid of them. If a boy had misbehaved, the teacher would make him go and sit with one of the girls, and after that he was careful.

"I fell in love with one of those girls—she was so pretty! I got to the schoolhouse early one morning and looked at her books. It thrilled me to handle them. I wrote with my pencil on the fly-leaf of her grammar this tender message:

"The rose is red, the violet blue,  
Both are beautiful, so are you.

"What a courageous act! I was scared about it. At noon when the girls

gathered and began whispering I got ashamed and went out and hid in the bushes. Think of that! The boys aren't quite as timid these days.

"If any of us ran away from school or cut up badly, there was that inevitable hour of reckoning with the master of the ship. He was stern but kindly. It was a memorable hour back in a lonely part of the grove or the orchard. The purpose of the school was explained to us. We were made to see and acknowledge our error, but that was not enough. My grandfather would then ask, 'How am I going to make you remember that you are not to do it again?' There was a moment of calm discussion.

"A man down in the village once asked my grandfather what he raised up there on the hill.

"Mostly boys and girls and just about enough wheat and corn and sheep and cattle to feed and clothe 'em," he answered.

"The boys and girls were the main thing; and what a crop this old farm sent out into the world!

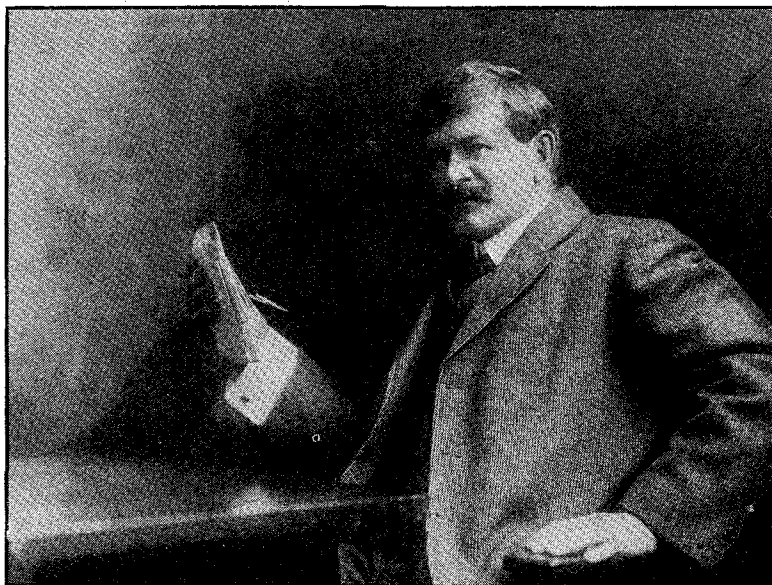
"Things are different now. Here in New England the farms are mostly dead. The work of the men is no longer at home. It takes them away to the mill, the shop, the store, and the office. I am almost persuaded that boys and girls are not now the main thing. It would seem to be business. It may almost be said that the American home is, and has been for some years, without a master. Its government is largely in the hands of women. There is yet another factor in the change; it is the revolt of women against the government of men, in home and state. Are not our men almost wholly absorbed by the problem of getting rich? Are they not mostly money dopes—given over to a consuming thirst like that for cocaine or opium? I wonder if men, spent day by day in the pursuit of wealth, have not been glad to give up the job of the ship's master. Women took the helm unprepared for such responsibility, and naturally so. It was a new task, for the duties of which they had had little training. Moreover, nature had not given them the strong hand of authority. If the strong hand is needed anywhere, it is with those semi-barbaric people we call children, who are learning the difference between right and wrong. It should be gentle, never tyrannical, but it must be strong, for strength is the thing they respect above all others. Is it not true that mainly women had not learned to reckon with remote consequences, and possibly because they had had little chance to learn?

"Again, nobody will stay at home these days. We have become a restless, wandering tribe. We have money to carry us, and we go. We strive to outdo our neighbors in a search for strange lands and curious peoples and odd adventures. We take the whole family and we go. We lead a public life. Discipline is largely and necessarily cut out of it. We like to think that we are broadening our vision. Possibly we are,

but our great need is intense, not broad, vision. We could learn more truth in a ten-acre lot than we get by rushing around the globe. We see only the surface of its life, and return with a lot of knowledge that isn't so—with many confused and unreliable impressions. Great men and women are not made that way. They establish their center and settle down upon it and find each year a wider circumference. Beating about the world accomplishes little. Always the great men and women have stayed at home. How much travel do you suppose Shakespeare had? The trip from Stratford up to London and a little way, a very little way, out in the near provinces. Never in all his life, probably, did he travel so far as we go in a round trip from New York to Boston. The same is true of Milton. Who saw so far and so deeply as those two? The men of approved greatness lived before wide travel was possible. The most extended journey of our own Lincoln was from Springfield to New York. We are notoriously a nation of fun chasers racing around the world. It is one of the things that is killing our home life. We should learn that he who has a home and sticks to it gets farthest in the race of life.

"We like to believe that we are independent, and in a sense we are, but as we have prospered the graces and manners of the Old World have had an increasing power over us. We have borrowed our fashions from France and our manners from England. Now under Edward VII the manners and morals of England underwent a serious change. He had, I think, overvalued commercial success—a good thing in its way, but not a big one. It bulks large, but it is really a thing of small importance. Edward was much impressed by it. Iron-makers, railway presidents, bankers, brewers, oil magnates, mine developers, became baronets and lords. It was their reward for making England pre-eminent in the world's commerce. The King ate and drank with them and patted their backs. He was a most popular King, but he had extended the circumference of the circle of fashion until it embraced some of the most common clay in the Empire. The old aristocracy of England, which, say what else you may of it, had maintained a high standard of manners and set its face against all vulgarity, was now appalled. They frowned upon the newcomers and snubbed them. They shoved the hot stinger of their contempt into 'the long-eared mule who was trying to be a charger.' The mule resented it. He started a revolt against the ancient standards and conventions. It expressed itself in shallow wit and bold irreverence and sometimes through shocking indecency.

"But the change of manners and of spirit which we have suffered cannot be wholly charged to our imitation of cheap aristocracy, or to the indifference of our men, or the incapacity of our women. We must reckon also with the



STEPHEN LEACOCK

Next week's Outlook will contain Mr. Leacock's "Stories and Story-Tellers." It is a delightful comparison between the divergent methods of spinning a yarn in Canada and the United States and in the land from which our American culture sprang. Whether we have improved on the British methods we leave to readers of Mr. Leacock's article to decide.

ingenuity of Henry Ford. Think of the non-skid rubber footprints in the sands of time! Almost every day for years the American home has been packed into a flivver and vigorously shaken up and dumped into the nearest village and electrified with sundry exhibitions of ingenious crime and amusing violence and high-volted love-making, and packed up again and returned to the hated quiet of the countryside. Now the dooryard has a hundred square miles in it. All the allurements of the town and the village are as handy as the croquet ground and the swimming-hole. No more reading under the evening lamp! Often after the day's end the house is silent, dark, and deserted. It is a dead home. When the lights are aglow of an evening, you may hear the barbaric yawp of canned inebriacy and sex passion sounding on the phonograph while the young dance. No more 'Pull for the Shore, Sailor,' no more Watts and Bliss and Moody and Sankey! Perhaps this new condition is a part of the ruin of war. Some two million of our boys lived a long time without law save that of the soldier. Many of them brought to their homes a reckless, dare-devil spirit and gave it to their sisters and brothers. In the most unexpected places we find the lawless cruelty of No Man's Land. We find everywhere a growing disrespect for law and decency. I think it is due largely to the fact that women have not been equal to the task they have lightly taken upon themselves in assuming the reins of government at home, and yet men are more at fault than women.

"In my youth we had a minister down there in the village who was a man of great learning. Even the children of

the street respected him. Every day he was going from house to house. He knew all the young people by name. Most of them he had baptized. He kept watch of them. He knew what they had been doing in and out of school. He was the shepherd of the flock. If one of them had committed a folly, somehow he had found it out. He would graciously invite the foolish one to his study; when the culprit arrived, no hard words would be spoken.

"'My child,' he would say, 'I am your shepherd. I love you. I cannot let you go astray. It is my duty to watch over you. I want you to know that you can bring your doubts and troubles to me and I will do what I can to help you. That is my business. It may be a matter of which you would not wish to speak to your mother or father. Do not fail to bring it to me, because I am the shepherd of the flock, and I will be a light to your feet, my child.'

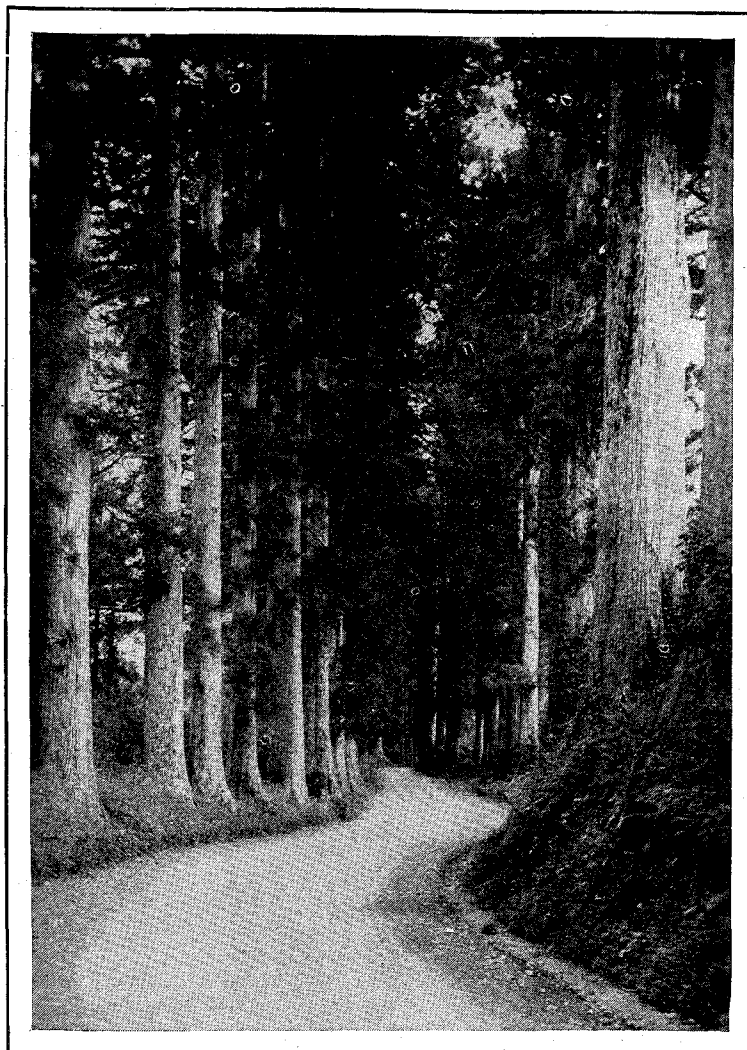
"Where is the shepherd of the flock? Perhaps it is my fault, but somehow these days I do not see him—at least, his flock would seem to have gone astray. Has he, too, been tempted by the rewards of business?"

**S**HALL we allow commerce to monopolize the heart and intellect of humanity?

Let us not be misled. Your palaces and mills and sky-scrapers are, after all, very little things. The real wealth of the world is stored in the spirit of man. Is it not time to demand an accounting which shall tell us how many great men we have and how many fools, and, above all, what is the mental and moral condition of our average individual?

# THE APPROACH TO A JAPANESE TEMPLE

PICTURES FROM AN OUTLOOK READER



## AN ANCIENT ROAD OF CRYPTOMERIAS LEADING TO THE TEMPLES IN NIKKO

In building the temples the richer Japanese nobles, our informant says, furnished the money, while the poorer nobles planted the trees along a twelve-mile drive as their tribute to the gods

## IMAGES OF BUDDHA OVER A THOUSAND YEARS OLD

The laps of these images are full of small stones which the people throw for luck. If the stone lands in the lap, it is good luck; if it falls out, the plea for luck is supposed not to be heard



From Mrs. S. D. Coke, Lexington, Ky.

# THE BOOK TABLE

## THE LIFE OF HERMAN MELVILLE<sup>1</sup>

A REVIEW BY LLOYD R. MORRIS

IT was perhaps in a mood not altogether devoid of prophetic insight that Herman Melville, while seeing "Moby Dick" through the press, wrote to his neighbor Nathaniel Hawthorne: "All fame is patronage. Let me be infamous: there is no patronage in *that*. What 'reputation' H. M. has is horrible. Think of it! To go down to posterity is bad enough, anyway; but to go down as a 'man who lived among the cannibals'! When I speak of posterity, in reference to myself, I only mean the babies who will probably be born in the moment immediately ensuing upon my giving up the ghost. I shall go down to some of them, in all likelihood. 'Typee' will be given them, perhaps, with their gingerbread. I have come to regard this matter of Fame as the most transparent of all vanities."

Mr. Weaver's brilliant and vividly written biography of Melville makes a substantial contribution to our knowledge of one of the most significant artists, and surely one of the most interesting figures, in American literature. It is, moreover, fascinating reading; a book which has all the intellectual keenness and finely edged wit of Mr. Strachey's "Queen Victoria" and is served besides by a quickened critical insight.

Melville's career, viewed retrospectively, is as beguiling in its unrealized potentialities as in its actual accomplishment. Before his twenty-fifth year Melville had been a merchant-sailor in the transatlantic trade, a whaler in the Pacific, had been for three months a resident of the Marquesas Islands, had been a prisoner in Tahiti as the result of a mutiny, and returned to the United States by way of South America as an "ordinary seaman" on an American man-of-war. In 1846 he published "Typee," the record of his stay in the Marquesas, which brought him immediate popularity in the United States and in England. This was followed by "Omoo," "Redburn," and "White Jacket," and in 1851 by his finest work, "Moby Dick." The following year brought forth a much-misunderstood novel, "Pierre," and in 1857 Melville practically renounced literature. From then on until his death in 1891 he was the willing tenant of a remote corner of oblivion.

"At the age of thirty-two," says Mr. Weaver, "so brilliant, so intense, so crowded, had been the range of experience that burned through him, that at the period of his life when most men are just beginning to strike their gait, Melville found himself looking forward into



Herman Melville

utter night. Nearly forty years before his death he had come to be the most completely disenchanted of all considerable American writers. From his youth, Melville had felt the flagrant and stubborn discord between aspiration and fact. He was born with an imagination of very extraordinary vigor and with a constitution of corresponding vitality. In sheer capacity to feel, most American writers look pale beside him. Fired by his rebellious imagination, and abetted by his animal courage, he sallied forth in quest of happiness. Few men have ever compassed such a span of experience as he crowded within the thirty-two years of his quest; few men have lived with such daring, such intensity. And one by one, as he put his illusions to the test, the bolts of his imagination, discharged against reality, but blazed charred avenues to despair."

Melville himself seems to have had a premonition of waning power, for in the letter to Hawthorne previously quoted he wrote: "The calm, the coolness, the silent grass-growing mood in which a man *ought* always to compose—that, I fear, can seldom be mine. Dollars damn me; and the malicious devil is forever grinning in upon me, holding the door ajar. My dear Sir, a presentiment is on me—I shall at last be worn out and perish, like an old nutmeg-grater, grated to pieces by the constant attrition of the wood, that is, the nutmeg. What I feel most moved to write, that is banned,—it will not pay. Yet, altogether, write the *other* way I cannot. So the product is a final hash, and all my books are botches." And with a touch of humor

he adds: "I'm rather sore, perhaps, in this letter."

Being of an uncompromising turn of mind, Melville did not write the "other way;" instead, he wrote what is possibly one of the least known books by any American writer of importance, "Pierre; or, The Ambiguities," a novel roundly abused by the contemporary critics and almost wholly forgotten by the posterity of which Melville was so contemptuous. In "Pierre," Mr. Weaver tells us, "Melville coiled down into the night of his soul to write an anatomy of despair." "The subtlety of the analysis," he continues, "is extraordinary; and in its probings into unsuspected determinants from unconsciousness it is prophetic of some of the most recent findings in psychology. . . . In the winding ambiguities of 'Pierre' Melville attempts to reveal man's fatal facility at self-deception; to show that the human mind is like a floating iceberg, hiding below the surface of the sea most of its bulk; that from a great depth of thought and feeling below the level of awareness, long silent hands are ever reaching out, urging us to whims of the blood and tensions of the nerves whose origins we never suspect. 'In reserves men build imposing characters,' Melville says; 'not in revelations.' 'Pierre' is not conspicuous for its reserves."

Melville's disillusion reached a climax in "Pierre" which left him little to say even on the subject of disillusion "self. And he turned more and more completely to metaphysical speculation. Mr. Weaver shows that Melville's interest in metaphysics had its genesis in the Marquesas, where he came first to speculate as to the possible advantages of conferring Christian civilization upon the "humane, gentlemanly, and amiable set of epicures" who constituted their population. The publication of "Omoo" brought Melville into controversy with the London Missionary Society over his plea for forbearance and charity to the islanders; later this controversy bore fruit in an ironic theory that in this world a wise man resigns himself to the world's ways. "Resigned to the insight that while on earth no man aims at heaven except by a virtuous expediency," says Mr. Weaver, "he accepted the London Missionary Society as one of the evils inherent in the universe, and, leaving it to its own fate, looked prophetically forward to the Inter-Church World Movement. In 'The Confidence Man' he makes one the characters say: 'Missions I would quicken with the Wall Street spirit. For if, confessedly, certain spiritual ends are to be gained but through the auxiliary agency of worldly means, then, to the surer gaining of such spiritual ends, the example of worldly policy in worldly projects should not by spiritual projectors be slighted. In brief, the conversion of the heathen, so far, at least, as depend-

<sup>1</sup> Herman Melville: Mariner and Mystic. By Raymond M. Weaver. The George H. Doran Company, New York. \$3.50.

ing on human effort, would, by the world's charity, be let out on contract. So much by bid for converting India, so much for Borneo, so much for Africa. You see this doing good in the world by dribblets is just nothing. I am for doing good in the world with a will. Do but think of the eddies and maelstroms of pagans in China. People here have no conception of it. Of a frosty morning in Hongkong, pauper pagans are found dead in the streets like so many nipped peas in a bin of peas. To be an immortal being in China is no more distinction than to be a snowflake in a snow-squall. What are a score or two of missionaries to such a people? I am for sending ten thousand missionaries and converting the Chinese *en masse* within six months of the debarkation. The thing is then done, and turn to something else." Such was the ironic temper of Melville's mood in 1857.

Of the four books which he published after that date two were privately printed in limited editions and three contained exclusively verse. As Mr. Weaver observes, "Melville's family seem all to have been more skeptical of

his verse than they were of his prose. In 1859 Mrs. Melville wrote to her mother, 'Herman has taken to writing poetry. You need not tell any one, for you know how such things get around.' Mrs. Melville was too optimistic: her husband's indiscreet practice is still pretty much a secret to the world at large." Most of these poems, and they are sufficiently quoted by Mr. Weaver, deal with the speculative divagations which preoccupied Melville's long period of silence. Mr. Weaver quotes Melville's verdict on "Clarel," the longest and most revealing of his poems: "A metrical affair, a pilgrimage or what not, of several thousand lines, eminently adapted for unpopularity." "Though this is completely true," says Mr. Weaver, "Melville used in 'Clarel' more irony, vividness, and intellect than the whole congregation of practicing poets of the present day (a few notable names excepted) could muster in aggregate. Yet with all this wealth of the stuff of poetry, the poem never quite fulfills itself." And, with the exception of "Moby Dick," the statement seems equally well to apply to the bulk of Melville's writing.

## THE NEW BOOKS

### FICTION

**NOVELS OF TURGENEV (THE).** Translated from the Russian by Constance Garnett. The Macmillan Company, New York. \$2.

The store of good material in Turgenev's writings seems inexhaustible. Some of his short stories appeared fifteen years ago in this excellent collective edition, with the same translator and publisher. The tales in this volume are strange, dramatically tense, but with the tragedy there is often intermingled a humorous strain.

**SHERIDAN ROAD MYSTERY (THE).** By Paul and Mabel Thorne. Dodd, Mead & Co., New York. \$1.75.

A detective story well carried on until the end approaches, when the villain's villainy is so excessive that the reader ceases to believe in him.

**HISTORY AND POLITICAL ECONOMY AMERICAN HISTORY AND GOVERNMENT.** By Matthew Page Andrews, M.A. Illustrated. The J. B. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia. \$2.

A remarkably complete and well-written account of our country's history from its beginnings to the present time. The reading of the book will interest and stimulate every one who is at all familiar with our life as a nation and the problems that have beset it. A Southern slant will undoubtedly be felt by the Northern reader in some of the chapters (notably in the account of Brooks's assault on Senator Sumner), but on the whole the author's attempt to present an unbiased narrative is fairly successful, and his point of view is always interesting and skillfully put.

**BIG FOUR AND OTHERS OF THE PEACE CONFERENCE (THE).** By Robert Lansing. Illustrated. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston. \$2.50.

We have already spoken at some length about Mr. Lansing's remarkable pen portrait of President Wilson in his

book entitled "The Peace Negotiations: A Personal Narrative." The present volume is devoted to slighter and lighter sketches of a few of the notable figures of the Paris Conference. Naturally that relating to Mr. Wilson is here comparatively short and slight. Those dealing with Clemenceau, Lloyd George, and Orlando are carefully written and are keen in character analysis. The other chapters, which deal with Venizelos, Feizul, Botha, and Paderewski, are avowedly mere impressions, not thorough studies.

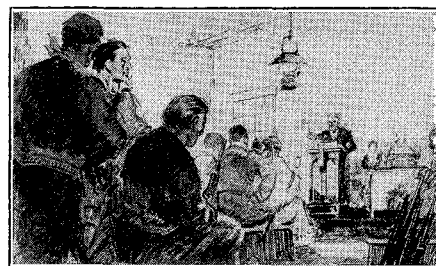
**STORY OF THE IRISH RACE (THE).** By Seumas MacManus. The Irish Publishing Company, New York. \$6.

Written by Irish men and women in a spirit of sympathy with the nationalistic aspirations of their race, this book nevertheless deals largely with other than political themes. The story of Ireland's early civilization receives full treatment, and much of this portion of the book will be new to most American readers. As a whole, the volume presents a somewhat somber picture of a race whose future at the present time seems luminous with hope.

### MISCELLANEOUS

**SOUL OF AN IMMIGRANT (THE).** By Constantine M. Panunzio. The Macmillan Company, New York. \$2.

This book has attracted deserved attention because, like the narrative of personal experience written years ago by Mary Antin, it brings close to the reader's mind the feelings and impressions of an immigrant who enters this country with a deep love of liberty. In this case the sailor boy described had unhappy and unfortunate experiences, was ill treated, but still struggled on, and in the end became an American citizen of the kind we like to have.



"—and the men would lean their guns up against the wall, handy—

and then all would join in prayer; though the man next the aisle didn't kneel—he kinda stood guard."

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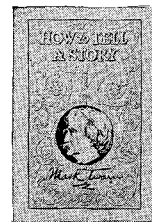
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## WHEN YOUR INSURANCE DOLLAR PUTS ON ITS OVERALLS

BY FORREST F. DRYDEN

**S**TAND some morning in the office of a large life insurance company when the mail is opened. See the great stacks of letters brought in and emptied on the receiving tables, and let your imagination busy itself with the stories that lie behind these envelopes. Here is a money order from a cross-roads post office—only a few dollars, yet a husband and wife have sacrificed for a month to purchase the protection it represents. Here is a check for thousands—a corporation has insured the life of its president, in order that the business may be protected in the event of his loss.

Stiff, formal envelopes and poor, shabby envelopes—some addressed in typewriting, some in ink, some with lead pencil in letters hardly legible, but every one a magnificent testimony to human faith. For the people from whom these envelopes come have never seen the office of the insurance company nor met its officers; they are intrusting the dearest thing in the world—the protection of their wives and children—to men whose names even are almost unknown to them. Surely there is no more solemn trust than this. I pity the insurance man, no matter how familiar the sight may be to him, who can watch the morning mail being opened without feeling a renewed and deepened sense of obligation at this vast, silent ritual of Confidence and Faith.

Now what becomes of these millions that are sent to the insurance companies from families all over the world? Are they kept piled up in banks? Some of them are, for sound insurance practice dictates that the company shall always have a large reserve in cash. No one knows when a catastrophe or an epidemic may come, making thousands of families suddenly dependent—the insurance company must be always prepared.

But what of the rest—the millions and millions which will not be needed by the policy-holders for years?

In St. Paul's Cathedral in London there is a simple slab marking the burial-place of Sir Christopher Wren, the architect of the great edifice. Upon it is this inscription in Latin, "If you would see his monument, look about you." The same inscription might be written of the dollar which you, and you, and you, have intrusted to your insurance company as a protection for the future. If you would see that dollar, you have only to look about you. It is not lying idle in some vault far away; it is invested and at work close at hand.

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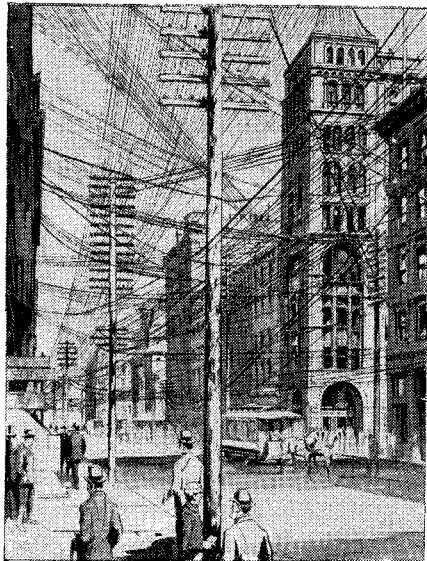
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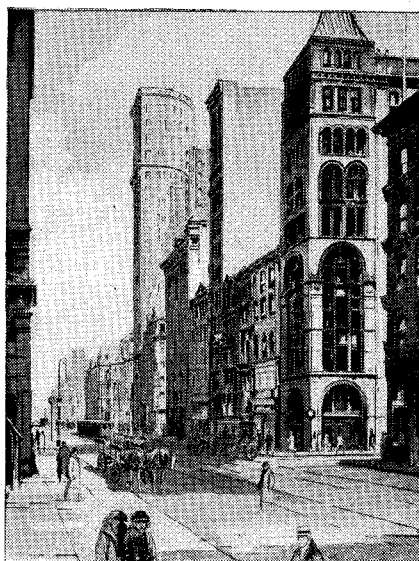
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*A scene on Broadway, New York, in 1890, showing the density of overhead wires*



*The same scene after the overhead wires were replaced by underground cables*

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You pass a beautiful park or a fine public school; they too are built by bonds—municipal bonds—an investment which is heavily owned by insurance companies. You pass a row of houses, each the home of a family that is paying a few dollars a month and looking forward to the day when it can call that home its own. Who furnished the money to erect this home, and took a mortgage as security? Very likely an insurance company—another place where your dollars are at work.

And farms—here your millions have been at work also. Thousands upon thousands of acres have been planted, buildings have been improved, and life made happier because your savings have been at work in the shape of farm-mortgage loans.

So the story might be carried on indefinitely; but enough has been said, perhaps, to give you a little picture of the multitude of activities which are being made possible through the wise investment of your insurance savings. Your insurance dollar is not a proud aristocrat, snobbishly living an idle life. Rather it is a worker in overalls, helping to build and maintain the most vital institutions of modern life.

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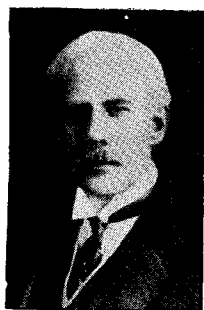


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## CONTRIBUTORS' GALLERY



**I**RVING BACHELLER is well known as a lecturer and as an author of numerous books, articles, and short stories. Mr. Bacheller was for years actively connected with the press of New York and was one of the editors of the New York

"World" for two years. He lives in Riverside, Connecticut.

**S**IDNEY BALLOU was born in Providence, Rhode Island, in 1870, and educated at Harvard, where he received his B.A. and A.M. degrees. After being admitted to the bar he went to Hawaii, and a few years later became Justice of the Supreme Court. He compiled the Civil Laws and Penal Laws of Hawaii, which were officially adopted in an act of Congress.

**B**ERNICE LESBIA KENYON was graduated from Wellesley College in 1920, and is now on the editorial staff of "Scribner's." She writes book reviews, verses, and essays. Her home is in New York.

**G**EORGE STURGES BUCK has been Mayor of Buffalo the last four years. He was born in Chicago in 1875 and educated at Yale and at the Buffalo Law School. He began to practice law in Buffalo in 1898.

**L**LOYD R. MORRIS is a graduate of Columbia and the author of an admirable volume on Irish literature, "The Celtic Dawn." He has frequently contributed to The Outlook and other periodicals. From Mr. Morris's record one can prove both that a writer is not necessarily impractical and that a business man is not necessarily interested solely in dollar-chasing. Mr. Morris served as chief of the trade division of the United States Postal Censorship during the war. He has an encyclopaedic knowledge of foreign trade, a fact which stands him in good stead as managing editor of the "American Exportor."



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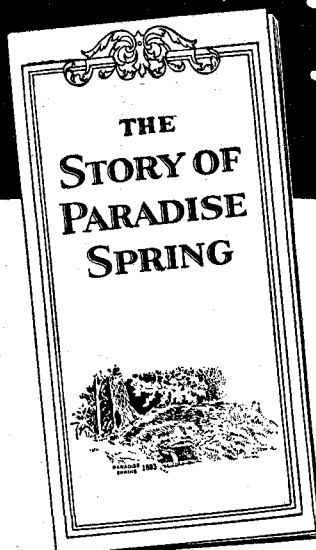
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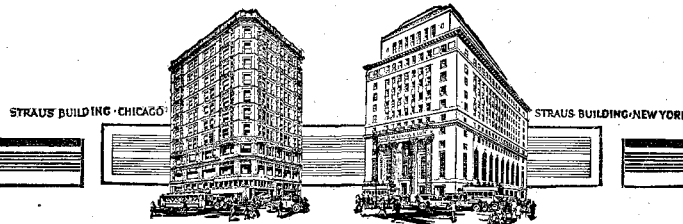
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### THE RAINY DAY

ACCORDING to statistics printed by "Dun's Review" there were 19,652 failures in the United States in the year 1921. The liabilities of these concerns totaled \$627,401,883. In 1920 there were 8,881 failures for a total of \$295,121,805. Every one said that the year just ended was a bad one for business, and these figures certainly furnish the proof that this was so. Out of every hundred concerns in business 1.02 failed, the highest percentage of failures since 1915. All sections of the country had their share of failures, the South Atlantic, South Central, and Central Western States making the worst records as com-

pared with the year previous, while the best showing was made by the Pacific Coast, where the percentage of increase over 1920 was 50.8 per cent, the lowest of any section.

It is interesting to compare the banking suspensions with the commercial failures. The number of banking defaults reported for 1921 totaled 383, an increase of 264 over 1920. In New England there were 1,702 commercial failures and 3 banking suspensions; in the Central Western States 1,855 commercial failures and 119 banking suspensions. In the Middle Atlantic and Central Eastern States, where, combined with New Eng



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and, most of the banking capital of the country is held, there were few banking defaults and the losses resulting from them were comparatively small. All of which is encouraging and is another proof of the strength of our banking structure. The largest number of banking suspensions occurred in those sections of the country where difficulty was found in marketing the crops, the farming districts where the troubles of the farmers affected the banks which serve them.

For the past ten years the yearly average of failures among all concerns doing business has been .86 of one per cent; and it may be interesting to examine briefly some of the reasons why failures occur, what are the causes for what Dun calls "commercial mortality."

Bad luck may be described as one of them and bad management another, although it is practically impossible in many cases to distinguish between the two. Of course a business may be ruined by conditions over which its managers have no control, as many businesses in Russia were ruined. That is bad luck. The rapid decline in the value of farm products without a corresponding decline in the cost of other commodities ruined the business of many a farmer. That too was bad luck. The unsettled state of trade throughout the world has brought about the insolvency of numerous businesses in recent months, and that in many cases was also bad luck. And conditions under which business must be carried on are far more difficult at certain times than at others. Periodically years roll around when readjustments must be made, and if a business has not prepared itself to withstand the shock of them it is liable to be forced into bankruptcy. Such a year was 1921, the "rainy day" year for business, when 9,652 commercial failures were recorded. Every business, however, should prepare for these rainy days.

Every one knows that business is largely conducted on credit. A manufacturer or wholesaler finds himself in need of cash to purchase machinery or supplies, and he goes to his bank and borrows the amount of cash required to finance these purchases. Then with the aid of his new machinery the manufacturer turns out more work, and with the proceeds obtained from the sale of these services pays off his loan at the bank; or the wholesaler sells the goods his loan has enabled him to buy and liquidates his loan with the money received in this way. Suppose, however, after the manufacturer has borrowed money to buy new machinery, that business suddenly slumps and he cannot get work to keep his machinery busy. Under such circumstances it becomes a liability instead of an asset. It must be paid for, and the loan at the bank must be met when it falls due. Without earnings here is no cash, and unless the bank is willing or able to extend his credit the manufacturer becomes insolvent. He cannot pay the bank and he cannot pay his other creditors, and he is forced into

## CURRENCY INFLATION and PUBLIC DEBTS

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### FINANCIAL DEPARTMENT

(Continued)

bankruptcy. Suppose the wholesaler buys a large stock of goods and shortly afterwards prices fall and he cannot sell them for what they cost him. He borrowed money to buy these goods, and then finds himself loaded with a stock of merchandise which can be disposed of only at a loss, and this loss combined with the costs of doing business places him in a position where he cannot meet his obligations, and he too fails.

These are two very simple examples of some of the reasons for commercial failures. They illustrate, however, the reasons why conservative bankers urge investors to buy the securities of only those companies which are in a position to meet such conditions when they present themselves. A company should

have enough cash on hand for any emergency which may arise in connection with its business; if not cash, it should have enough "quick assets"—that is merchandise, securities, commercial paper, etc., which can be readily converted into cash—for such a purpose.

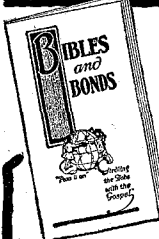
A company should not have too many fixed obligations—bonds, for instance, issued in such volume that the average earnings are only barely sufficient to meet the interest, which *must* be paid. A company which does not observe this rule is in a position similar to that of a man who has a big mortgage on his house, notes outstanding against him, and an income barely sufficient to cover the interest he must pay, to make no mention of paying off the loans when due. He is continually "in the hole" and is not conducting his affairs on a businesslike basis.

A business which is not managed conservatively, which over-extends itself in additions to its plant, or stocks of goods on hand, is in danger when the rainy day comes. An individual who spends more than he is justified in spending is also going to find himself in difficulties when the day of reckoning stares him in the face. In other words, the management of a business differs very little from the management of individual affairs. The principles which apply to the one are equally applicable to the other.

In our opinion, the seat of the trouble is in the majority of cases the failure of the business or of the individual to take the rainy day into account, and prepare for it. Many businesses were unprecedentedly prosperous during the war; demands for their products seemed to be limitless and profits were enormous. Easy money poured into their treasuries, and the management lost their heads in many instances. They reasoned that if they could make large profits with the plant and equipment they had, why would it not be possible to make profits twice as large if their plants were doubled in size and they were possessed of twice as much equipment? Why not? It seemed reasonable, and they immediately set to work to increase their facilities so that their profits would be increased in proportion. The only difficulty was that these companies failed to realize that the conditions which created the demand for their goods, and made it possible for them to do business on such a profitable basis, were only temporary. They forgot that the time was surely coming when, instead of demanding their goods in unlimited quantities and being willing to pay any price for them, the world would get along with as small a quantity as possible and would further inquire very carefully into the cost before it committed itself to buy. When this time came, many concerns found themselves equipped with enormous plants for whose output there was no call and great stocks of raw materials for which they had paid high prices and with which there was nothing to do because no one wanted to buy the finished prod-

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acts. This policy, followed by many businesses, accounts for many of the 19,652 failures in 1921. And how many housand individuals were affected by these 19,652 failures it is of course impossible to say. How many other individuals were affected by the decline in value of the securities of companies which did not actually fail is even more impossible to state with any degree of accuracy. Every one has been affected in some measure by the business depression of course, but it is safe to say that those who knew the storm was coming and prepared for it were the ones best able to weather it.

One of our largest corporations gave an excellent demonstration during the past few years of the reasons why it is one of our largest corporations, and of how a business should be conducted. It made enormous profits, like many of the others, but, instead of spending all this money or investing it in additions to its plant, it allocated a large portion of it to surplus, until now its surplus account has nearly three times as many millions in it as it had before. Consequently this corporation is in a stronger position than ever, its security holders are better protected, and the shareholders really have more valuable stock than they had previously, even if it does not pay as large dividends as during the period of prosperity.

This corporation merely kept sight of the fact that its unexampled prosperity was not permanent. It therefore saved a large part of its profits to safeguard itself against the hard times that it realized must come later. In other words, it prepared for the rainy day; and if all businesses and all individuals would learn the simple truth that it is bad policy to spend all they earn there would be fewer rainy days for all of us.

#### QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

Q. Please advise me if the preferred stock of the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey is considered a good investment. Is this issue callable? What dividend does it pay?

A. Standard Oil of New Jersey preferred is rated a high-grade investment. Dividends are payable at the rate of \$7 a share a year. It is callable at 115 and dividends on any quarterly dividend date three years after date of issue.

Q. Will you tell me something about the City of Tokyo 5 per cent bonds, due 1952? Are they considered a good investment?

A. There are outstanding £5,175,000 of the City of Tokyo 5s, due 1952. They are a first charge upon the annual net revenues of the electric tramways and electric lighting undertakings of the city and a general charge upon other revenues subject to the charges for an underlying loan of £1,500,000. There is a cumulative sinking fund of 1 per cent a year by annual drawings at par or purchase below par, with an option to the city to accelerate the fund at any time or repay the whole or part of the loan beginning with 1922 on six months' notice. The bonds are rated as high-grade investments.

| Investment Issues for Securities Monthly Statement & Summary |      |        |       |          |           |           |           |      |        |
|--------------------------------------------------------------|------|--------|-------|----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|------|--------|
| SECURITY                                                     | DATE | PRICE  | YIELD | INTEREST | TOTAL     | PRINCIPAL | REMAINDER | DATE | PRICE  |
| 25,000.00                                                    | 1921 | 100.00 | 4.00  | 1,000.00 | 26,000.00 | 25,000.00 | 1,000.00  | 1921 | 100.00 |
| 10,000.00                                                    | 1921 | 100.00 | 4.00  | 400.00   | 10,400.00 | 10,000.00 | 400.00    | 1921 | 100.00 |
| 15,000.00                                                    | 1921 | 100.00 | 4.00  | 600.00   | 15,600.00 | 15,000.00 | 600.00    | 1921 | 100.00 |
| 10,000.00                                                    | 1921 | 100.00 | 4.00  | 400.00   | 10,400.00 | 10,000.00 | 400.00    | 1921 | 100.00 |
| 10,000.00                                                    | 1921 | 100.00 | 4.00  | 400.00   | 10,400.00 | 10,000.00 | 400.00    | 1921 | 100.00 |
| 5,000.00                                                     | 1921 | 100.00 | 4.00  | 200.00   | 5,200.00  | 5,000.00  | 200.00    | 1921 | 100.00 |
| 5,000.00                                                     | 1921 | 100.00 | 4.00  | 200.00   | 5,200.00  | 5,000.00  | 200.00    | 1921 | 100.00 |
| 10,000.00                                                    | 1921 | 100.00 | 4.00  | 400.00   | 10,400.00 | 10,000.00 | 400.00    | 1921 | 100.00 |
| 10,000.00                                                    | 1921 | 100.00 | 4.00  | 400.00   | 10,400.00 | 10,000.00 | 400.00    | 1921 | 100.00 |
| 10,000.00                                                    | 1921 | 100.00 | 4.00  | 400.00   | 10,400.00 | 10,000.00 | 400.00    | 1921 | 100.00 |

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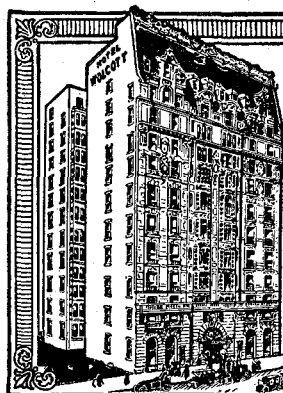
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## BY THE WAY

PERHAPS it was not "Marse Henry," who wrote the following paragraph printed a few weeks ago in the Louisville "Courier-Journal," but at least must have been a writer trained in his school: "A 'prominent author' is the novelist who wrote this year's best-seller. An obscure writer is the novelist who wrote last year's best-seller."

From an unexpected source come this recommendation that the railway should observe Sunday as a day of rest. It is signed "Assistant Superintendent" and appears in the "Railway Age." "I know that many old-time railroad men will not agree with me," the writer says, "that it is practical to operate a railroad on an eight-hour basis and without Sunday work. But I claim that such a thing is possible and that the railroads of this country would save millions each year if they would come to an eight-hour day six days a week, from the president to the section laborer. I was yardmaster on one of the lines [during the war] which practically tied up from seven o'clock Sunday morning until midnight. By Monday night we were just about as far ahead as if we had worked every engine in the terminal on Sunday."

The "Personal" column of the London "Times" recently printed these peculiar "wants:"

Society Gossip wanted by high-class weekly paper. Gossip must be good-natured, accurate, and by one who is actually in Society, not a professional journalist. Address —, Times.

Live Snakes (Cobra di Capello and Exchies Coronata) urgently needed for the preparation of Anti-Tuberculosis Serum. Officers of I. M. S. specially appealed to. Address —, Times.

Referring to a passage in "Silhouettes," by Dr. Lyman Abbott, a subscriber says that he personally saw Barnum's famous "whale" in the basement of the old Museum at Ann Street and Broadway, New York City, but at the time he was not old enough to perceive that a whale could not have been brought through a door only two and a half feet wide. "Barnum and I," our correspondent continues, "had a table together one winter at the Sturtevant House. I asked him about the whale. He told me that it was made of rubber."

When an oil well "comes in" after the final drilling, Mrs. Clare Sheridan says in describing a visit to Mexico in the "Metropolitan," the drillers first let the well "clean herself out," which it does with a roar and rush of gas that sometimes throws the drilling tools out of the hole. "The gas is very inflammable and not even an automobile is allowed to pass within a radius of 300 meters during the incoming of a well. When the big fire was raging in Amatlan, the only method of closing the well was to tunnel to the casing that incloses it and

(Continued on page 160)